Report on

# ISLAMIC SUMMIT 1974 PAKISTAN

Lahore, February 22-24, 1974





*The historic Friday Prayer congregation at Badshahi Mosque, Lahore on February 22, 1974.*

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*Kings, Prime Ministers and Leaders of the Islamic world meet in counsel at the inaugural session of the Second Islamic Summit Conference at the Punjab Assembly Chambers, Lahore on February 22, 1974.*

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# INTRODUCTION

"*And be not like those who are divided amongst themselves and fall into disputation.*"

*Al Quran*, 3.105

Perhaps no other divine religion prescribes cohesion for its followers so strongly as does Islam. The concept of the unity of the Muslims flows directly from the universal brotherhood of the faith and is as old as Islam itself. All Muslims—wherever they are—are members of a fraternity which is above and beyond all barriers of race, colour or caste. Time and again in the Holy Book, the faithful are told in clear categorical terms that their salvation in this world and in the hereafter was linked with good works and their solidarity as a Millat.

The total emphasis on unity had, as it now has, also a compelling political logic. Fourteen hundred years ago, when Islam originated on the hills of Mecca, it confronted a totally alien society which was not ready—or would not allow itself—to undergo major changes. In the face of stiff opposition from polytheistic Arab tribes, the response to the call made by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was in the beginning extremely slow. As the number of the Muslims grew, so did the opposition to the new faith. Under these circumstances, it was vitally important that Muslims should keep themselves in close communion and work unitedly for the cause of their faith. It was not long before the reward promised by Allah Almighty was bestowed upon the faithful. The dawn of the Islamic era saw dedicated Muslim soldiers crisscrossing

the plains, deserts, mountains and steppes carrying the message of God to the four corners of the then known world. Within a few decades the sprawling landmass between the Central Asia and West Africa and between Europe and South Asia had seen the light of Islam which raised man to a new sense of human dignity and fashioned a new type of human character.

These soldiers of Islam were on a godly mission from which there was no retreat until the mission was fulfilled. They were not out to subjugate people or to conquer territory for its own sake. Their task was to spread the word of God and transform human society. The states and kingdoms they won immediately became integral parts of a central administrative set-up in which each was on equal footing with the others. Once these states had come under the domain of Islam, cultural and social revolutions, as envisaged in the Holy Quran, were brought about, and the new areas enjoyed the same amount of progress as the other provinces. So while Europe hibernated in the dark ages, not far away, tremendous changes which raised human values in all spheres of endeavour, were taking place in Iberia and other Muslim lands. People were making discoveries and writing books which were later to cause an immense change in the outlook of man and his understanding of life.

The golden period of Islam produced a galaxy of men who distinguished themselves in all fields of knowledge. The names of philosophers like Avicenna (980-1037) and Averroes (1126-1198), mathematicians like Omar Khayyam (1048-1123) and Fakhruddin Raazi (1149-1210), Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) the father of sociology, and Avenzoar (1090-1162), the physician, are only a few of those who adorned the glittering roll of honour of this era. The Arabic roots of early technical expressions like alchemy, algebra, alcohol, alembic, alkali and astrolabe bear eloquent testimony to the inventive genius of the Arabs and the Muslims.

The Muslim contribution to art and science, philosophy and history and indeed in all branches of human knowledge laid the foundations for the later flowering of learning in Europe and other parts of the world. But after the lapse of a few centuries these great people who had given so much to the world fell into disarray and their period of glory started declining. The reasons for this disarticulation were varied, though generally speaking, history was conducting its process in reverse. Primarily the decline of the Muslim power and glory was due to the fact that Muslims had spread out into far off regions and there was no central authority to provide guidance and protection in their individual and collective efforts.

The situation also had a monetary aspect. As increasing military victories brought new lands and more financial commitments the term 'caliphate' lost its essential meaning and significance, and instead of the humility of great responsibility, it took on aspects of an empire, so that the heads of the administration tended to drift from the sublime teachings of Islam in their handling of the affairs of the state. The sense of brotherhood was replaced by personal rivalries. The ultimate result was the breakup of the empire itself into smaller kingdoms which were eventually divided into still smaller principalities. United, none could dare challenge them; disunited, they fell an easy prey to their enemies who were only too eager to grab the opportunity. Muslims were routed from Spain and the Balkans, and elsewhere too they were forced into a retreat before the onslaught of the European powers.

Muslims were not to emerge from the oblivion until around the middle of this century though reformers had appeared from time to time and did their work of reawakening Muslim consciousness and inducing a sense of transcendent Muslim unity. Some of the names that come to mind in this regard are those of Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, Muhammed Abduh and Dr. Muhammed Iqbal who, in their times, sought to regenerate the idea of pan-Islamism in modern political

terms. While Syed Jamaluddin's idea made a vital part in influencing life and thought in Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey, Allama Iqbal's concept of pan-Islamism together with his vision of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent was to lead ultimately to the birth of Pakistan.

Emergence of a new Muslim nation on the map of the world in August 1947 gave a new hope to the people of the Islamic world even though many of them had yet to taste a single day of freedom themselves. Events were later to prove that the Muslim world's attachment to Pakistan and vice versa, were no mere passing phases.

Pakistan's solidarity with the world of Islam has been one of the constants of its independent existence. In fact the larger concept of world Muslim unity was the genesis of the Muslim freedom movement in the subcontinent, both during the pre-independence period and after the establishment of Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, strongly and consistently supported all just causes of the Muslim world notably the Arab cause in Palestine. The Quaid's deep concern with the issue of Palestine and the epic struggle of the Arabs for their rights was shown by the fact that soon after assuming office as head of the State, he deputed his Foreign Minister to the United Nations to fight vigorously for the Arab cause, and he also sent a strong note to the American President urging his intercession on behalf of justice and equity in the Middle East.

Ever since her inception, Pakistan has been in the forefront of the struggle for a better deal for the Muslims of the world. Pakistan's representatives have been the most ardent and at times, most eloquent, supporters of the causes dear to the Muslims of the world.

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, likewise, has been from the early days inspired by a grand conception of Muslim unity. As

an activist student, he often used the forums of his college to discuss international issues. One of his earliest addresses was on "*The Islamic Heritage*;" in it he told a Los Angeles audience in 1948, "I only want to tell you of the Islam that was a burning light yesterday, the ember that it is today and the celestial flame of tomorrow, for that is how I envisage the future of Islam."

This vision of Islam has guided Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto both in the formulation of his domestic and foreign policies; giving his Pakistan People's Party, with its Manifesto based on the Islamic principles of social justice, an overwhelming electoral victory in 1970-71, the Pakistan Government a cardinal principle in the conduct of its foreign policy, and to Pakistan the honour of being the host to the Second Islamic Summit Conference.

When he assumed office in the wake of the tragedy of 1971, his first thoughts were those of the Muslim world. In January 1972, he embarked on a 10,000 miles odyssey of goodwill visiting Iran, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Egypt and Syria. Again in May, he travelled to twleve other countries including Kuwait, the Union of Arab Emirates, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Nigeria, Guinea and Mauritania. The Government of Mr. Bhutto has spared no effort in fostering close relations with the countries of the Muslim world from Al-Maghreb to Indonesia, in fact Pakistan's relations with brother Muslim countries have always had an extra diplomatic dimension.

When the Ramadhan War erupted in October 1973, he acted with lightning speed and pledged full support to the Arabs in their struggle against the Zionist aggression.

Soon after the cease-fire in the Middle East, Prime Minister Bhutto expressed his country's readiness to host the Second Islamic Summit to consider the consolidation of the pre-and post-war

gains. Such an expression of solidarity with the Arabs was not alien to a country which was an ideological state, and which, since its birth, has held the cause of the Islamic world dear to its heart. The ties between Pakistan and other Islamic states have assumed a friendlier and a much stronger aspect after Mr. Bhutto came to power.

Brisk preparations for holding the Conference were started immediately after the Prime Minister made the offer to hold the Summit in Pakistan. A big diplomatic drive was initiated and personal representatives of the Prime Minister were despatched to various Islamic capitals for preliminary discussions with governmental leaders. The response could not have been greater.

In the third week of February 1974, barely four months after the end of the hostilities in the region of the conflict and within a few weeks of the launching of Pakistan's drive for the holding of the Conference, the delegates from as many as 38 Muslim countries assembled in the ancient city of Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, to begin history's biggest gathering of the Muslim leaders.

The meeting was taking place at a crucial moment in the history of the Arab world while the rest of the world was facing near chaotic conditions. As far as the Arabs were concerned, the Ramadhan war had shattered some illusions and had, at the same time, drastically altered the power equations in the region. After the imposition of the oil embargo, the Arabs had a number of cards in their hands and the deal was to be played very shrewdly.

The Conference opened with befitting pageantry on Friday, February 22 and the final session concluded late at night on February 24. For three days the attending delegates deliberated over the agenda prepared by their foreign ministers a few days earlier and the discussion ranged over a number of topics including the assessment of the post-war situation, the explosion of the Israel's so-called myth of

invincibility, the economic situation resulting from the oil embargo, the situation arising from Israel's arrogance and its defiance of world's public opinion and the problems facing the Third World. Admittedly, most of the attention was focussed on problems facing the Arabs and the Muslims, yet the Conference was able to consider in depth the possible solutions which could benefit not only Muslims but also all other human communities. The Lahore Declaration issued at the conclusion of the Conference spells out the commitment which the participating states have undertaken to strive to rectify the wrongs that have been done to the Arabs. The resolution on Jerusalem condemns judaisation and Zionist colonisation and the profanation to which the holy shrines of Islam have been subjected under the usurper Israeli regime. While calling for immediate and unconditional Israeli withadrwal from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967, the resolution affirmed that the restoration of the full national rights of the Palestinians was a sine qua non for the establishment of just and lasting peace. The resolution also recognised the Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian nation.

The participating delegates expressed their deep appreciation of the very warm welcome accorded to them by the people of Pakistan. The greatest impact was often made by small gestures by the most humble people who opened their hearts for their guests. The elaborate arrangements made by the Government of Pakistan and the attention to the minutest details also attracted favourable comments.

When the sovereigns, presidents, prime ministers and other attending dignitaries had departed, they left behind a structure of newly formed ideas which, from now onwards, would guide the destiny of the Islamic world. The Conference brought the Islamic fraternity to a closer and deeper understanding of their prospects and problems and a new awareness of the immense possibilities of their vigorous co-operation for the common good.

In the following pages is an account of the proceedings of the Conference and decisions and the impressions the historic assemblage left on the world at large.



*King Faisal, the co-sponsor of the Second Islamic Summit, arrives at Lahore airport to receive a very warm welcome from President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and the other co-sponsor Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan.*



*Early arrivals at Lahore airport on February 21, 1974 include Al Haj Diori Hamani, President of Niger; Mr. N'garta Tombalbaye, President of Chad and Mr. Dawda K. Jawara, President of Gambia.*

*Old friends of Pakistan, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates and Sheikh Rashid Al Maktoum, the Vice President, were accorded a traditionally warm welcome on arrival at Lahore airport.*





*President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria who arrived at Lahore airport accompanied by Prime Minister Lansana Beavogyi of Guinea and Prime Minister Francisco Mendes of Guinea-Bissau, received a warm welcome from President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.*



*Sultan Qaboos Bin Said of Oman takes the salute at a march past at Lahore airport.*

*Mr. Ali Nasser Mohamed, Prime Minister of the Popular Democratic Republic of Yemen, Mr. Takieddin Solh, Prime Minister of Lebanon and Mr. Assane Seck, Foreign Minister of Senegal on arrival at Lahore airport.*






*Sheikh Sabah As Salem As Sabah, the Ruler of Kuwait, who arrived with Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, reviews a guard of honour along with Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.*



*President Gaffar Mohammed Nimeiri of Sudan takes the salute at a march past at Lahore airport.*

*El-Qadi Abdul Rahman El-Iryani, President of the Arab Republic of Yemen being welcomed at Lahore airport.*





*President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Col. Muammer El Qaddafi, President of the Libyan Arab Republic, who arrived together at Lahore airport, were greeted very warmly by President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.*



*Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of Bangladesh on arrival at Lahore airport on February 23, 1974.*

*President Siad Barre of the Democratic Republic of Somalia at Lahore airport.*

## ARRANGING THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE

When the Second Islamic Summit Conference concluded in Lahore late on the night of February 24, 1974, many of the departing guests were heard to express their amazement at the meticulous care and forethought with which the whole thing was arranged.

But what the guests saw and admired was only the final result and the end product of a most elaborate exercise undertaken by the Government and the people of Pakistan to make the occasion a great success.

Motorcades of distinguished visitors with the national flags of the guests aflutter on the bonnets of highly polished long cars with smartly dressed outriders on motor-cycles made a very impressive sight. But the public did not see the countless rehearsals and the tedious hours of preparation which went in to make split-second timing, keeping in mind the very exacting requirements of protocol, almost letter-perfect. This whole exercise had to be repeated every time a distinguished guest either came to attend the Conference session or left it afterwards or went to attend any of their scheduled programmes.

In an operation of such magnitude where intricate planning required the ultimate in precision and timing, it was quite natural that the three defence services of the country would be called in to lend a hand in a big way.

Three days before the start of the Conference, units of Pakistan

Army were deployed to assist the civil security forces in matters relating to security of the delegates, area protection, and provision of guards at the residences of the Heads of State and Government, the Punjab Assembly Chambers and other important places. For this purpose the Army had already set up administrative camps and control headquarters to man the communications network.

In view of the fact that many delegates had travelled a long way to reach Lahore where the climate might or might not agree with them, special attention had been devoted to the task of meeting medical emergencies. Pakistan Army Medical Corps and the Pakistan Medical Association joined hands to establish medical centres in all hotels where the foreign dignitaries were staying. These centres were manned by specialists in the various disciplines of medicine and surgery and the leading physicians of the country. In order to cope with the cases requiring immediate hospitalization, the Combined Military Hospital in Lahore kept an entire section of their medical unit on maximum alert during the Summit period.

The heartwarming welcome extended to the Delegates started right at the Lahore airport which had become a cosmopolis in miniature. Every time the plane carrying a distinguished guest landed on the tarmac, his national flag rose atop the flag-pole.

Every Head of State received a 21-gun salute on arrival and guns kept booming all day and the entire city vibrated with their report. An embroidered red velvet canopy with a dais underneath was set up in front of VIP Lounge as a saluting base.

It was indeed a proud day for men drawn from the three services who presented a smartly turned out guard of honour to each head of the state and government and played the largest-ever number of national anthems in a single day. The bandsmen played with superb perfection and the melody of music and the beat of the drums was

carried to thousands of homes by the radio and television network. During the march past which took place immediately after the presentation of the guard of honour, the bands struck up the Pakistani Milli Tarana "Allah-o-Akbar" infusing exhilaration to the emotionally charged atmosphere. In all 56 bands drawn from the Army, Navy and Air Force were in attendance at the airport and along the route used by the guests.

Every Head of State was given the services of a Military Secretary of the rank of a Brigadier besides having a Major as an Assistant Military Secretary and a Captain as an Aid-de-Camp.

But the people of Lahore were not to be left behind in this demonstration of fraternal feelings they have for their fellow Muslims from all over the world. The loudest demonstration of the feelings of the Lahorites was the entire seven-mile route from the airport to the Shahi Fort which was dotted with dozens of arches painted in vibrating colours and bearing inscriptions in English, French and Arabic, the three official languages of the Summit Confernnce. Flags of the 37 countries attending the Conference fluttered majestically over important places like the Cantonment Bridge, the Airport, and at various points on the Shahrah-i-Quaid-i-Azam. Since residential accommodation for many distinguished guests was arranged in some of the finest private houses in Gulberg, the main boulevard of Gulberg was decorated with great care and attention to detail.

The night before the Conference was sheduled to start, tens of thousands of people in festive mood roamed through the gaily-decorated streets of Lahore to admire the illuminations on the buildings which were the finest in living memory.

Loudspeakers in the streets blared out the latest hit tunes from the Arab world—lilting Arab songs that brought to Lahore the sweet airs of Cairo and Beirut. Boys in the street soon learnt how to

greet the guests and the slogans of "Ahlan wa sahlan marhaba" was soon on everyone's lips.

Tradesmen of the town had anticipated the rush of the visitors and shops all over the town were laden with goods of every kind and Lahore became a paradise for shoppers. Many of the guests were amazed at the high standards of the craftsmanship of the goods and their comparatively moderate prices. But the shopkeepers of Lahore had other surprises up their sleeves for which the guests were not always prepared. On numerous occasions at the conclusion of their shopping spree, the foreign guests were told that shopkeepers were refusing to accept payment for goods sold. Remonstrances by protocol officers accompanying the visitors were also of no avail. On many other occasions unsolicited goods of high quality were wrapped up along with regular purchases either as free gifts or on nominal prices.

## PUNJAB ASSEMBLY CHAMBERS

The Punjab Assembly Chambers where the Summit Conference was to be held, was completely renovated and given a face lift.

Apart from new lighting arrangements, a special three-way sound system was installed to permit instantaneous translation of speeches in English, Arabic and French, the three official languages.

Inside the hall on the ground floor, the seats were arranged in three rows. The first row with six tables seated eight delegations while the second with five tables seated 13 teams. The third row with five tables seated 18 delegations. Behind each head of a delegation, there were seats for three aides. Behind the last row were seats for 59 persons. On the two ends of the horse-shoe-shaped room, there was provision for the seating of 12 visitors who wished to attend the Conference as the guests of the Government of Pakistan.

The Chairman of the Conference, who sat on the rostrum, was flanked on either side by Mr. Hasan Mohammed Al Tohamy, the

Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference and Mr. Agha Shahi, the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan. Four stenographers, two on either side, sat near the rostrum.

A portrait of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan was hung as the main decoration of the hall just above the clock.

On the first floor, there was a press gallery, though the 600 or so foreign and Pakistani newsmen who covered the Conference could hardly be accommodated at one place.

## LAHORE—THE HOST CITY

Lahore which had the honour of playing host to the Second Islamic Summit Conference, is the capital of the province of Punjab and a city of just over two million people.

Though the city is an heir to a rich cultural heritage spread over perhaps two millennia, its origins are lost in antiquity and no one really knows when or by whom was the town founded. Not much credence can be placed on the pre-Islamic legend which credits Lov or Loh, one of the two sons of Rama, with founding the town. What emerges from conflicting views in this regards leads one to assume that the entire growth of the town took place within the Islamic era.

The earliest historical mention of Lahore occurs in a ninth-century Arab chronicle, ''Fatuhul Baldan'' compiled by Ahmad Bin Yahya Al-Biladuri who lived in the court of Baghdad during the reign of the Abbaside Caliph Al-Mu'tamid Billah. Al-Biladuri calls it Alhawar while another ninth-century traveller and geographer, Al-Adrisi of Morocco, calls it Lohawar. Another Arabic work, Hudud-al-Alam, written in 982 also mentions Lahore which was then a province under the kingdom of Multan.

Lahore saw the light of Islam in 1022 when Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna annexed it to his expanding Ghaznavid empire and built a mosque of bricks to commemorate the event. The great saint, Hazrat Ali Hujweri (1009-1072), popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, took up abode in Lahore around this time to spread the message of

Islamic unity and brotherhood. Thousands of devotees soon flocked round this great divine who died around 1072 and lies buried in a splendid mausoleum which is thronged with visitors at all times.

After the death of Sultan Mahmud in 1030, the Ghaznavid empire suffered an eclipse and the later Ghaznavi Sultans made Lahore their headquarter after losing their ancestral capital at Ghazna to Seljuk Tartars. This period saw the flowering of a literary and cultural rebirth and Lahore soon acquired the title of "Little Ghazna" on account of the numerous men of letters who had gathered here during this period.

Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi died in 1030. In his famous work Tarikhul Hind written between 1030-1033, Abu Raihan Al Beruni describes Lahore as the capital of Mandahukar situated east of the River Irva (Ravi) which was conquered by Sultan Mahmud in 1021.

A gold coin excavated in 1958 at Lahore Fort bears the name of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and the inscription says "minted at Mohammedpur" which suggests that this was the name given to Lahore by the Ghaznavides.

Lahore again came to prominence in 1205 when Sultan Qutbuddin Aibek was crowned the King of India at Qasr-e-Humayuni (Royal Palace) in the city.

Sultan Mubarak Shah of the Saiyyad dynasty (d. 1434) took a special liking to Lahore and built several building in the city after changing its name to Mubarakabad. Many monuments of this period, including the Mausoleum of Mir Mahdi, have survived.

Just after his conquest of India in 1526, the first Mughal Emperor, Zahiruddin Mohammed Babur appointed his son Mirza Kamran as the Governor of Lahore who built a large garden on the banks of

the River Ravi along with a pavilion and a summer house in the middle of an artificial lake in 1530-40. Parts of the structure, known as Kamran's Baradari have survived.

The third Moghul Emperor Jalaluddin Akbar (1542—1603) lived in Lahore for twenty years. He rebuilt the Lahore Fort in its present form. The quadrangle inside the Fort dates from this period and is renowned for its spacious verandahs with red-stone pillars and brackets.

Akbar's son Nuruddin Jahangir, who ascended the throne after Akbar's death in 1603 lost his heart completely to Lahore. Besides spending most of his time in the town, he renovated the Fort and built a number of palaces where he sought refuge from the cares of statecraft in company of his favourite Queen Nur Jehan. Jahangir died in Rajauri in 1627 but abiding by his oft repeated wish, his son and successor, Shahabuddin Shahjahan (1627-1658) built for his fatther a gem-like mausoleum at Shahdara, on the banks of Ravi just outside Lahore. Nur Jehan also lies buried near her husband in another tomb at Shahdara.

History remembers Shahjahan as the Emperor with the most exquisite taste in architecture who spared neither effort nor expense in creating masterpieces of craftsmanship. He began by renovating the Fort and rebuilt a number of buildings in white marble. The pride of place goes to Shish Mahal (the palace of mirrors) where Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto gave a banquet in honour of the participating delegates. The Shish Mahal is decorated with sparkling pieces of glass which cover the whole of its interior. The structure was used primarily as the Harem.

Delegates would not easily forget the historic reception given in their honour by the citizens of Lahore on Sunday, February 24 at the Shalamar Garden about five kilometres outside the town on

the Grand Trunk Road. Shalamar Garden was also built by Shahjahan around 1642 in three terraces which bore different names. Shalamar literally means "the abode of love" and historians have often described it as "the heaven transplanted on earth." The Garden has been divided into three stages each with parterres, water channels and innumerable fountains and is perhaps the finest example of landscape architecture in the East.

Shahjahan was succeeded by his son Mohyuddin Aurangzeb Alamgir in 1658 who would always be remembered because of the largest Mosque in the East, the Badshahi Masjid, built on his orders in 1673. The Mosque, where the Delegates to the Second Islamic Summit Conference offered Friday prayers before the inaugural session on February 22 along with thousands of their fellow Muslims, was built under the supervision of Fidai Khan Koka, the foster brother of Aurangzeb. The structure of the Mosque is a unique blending of grace, strength, harmony and almost military precision.

There are not many monuments dating from the Sikh or the British periods except the modern town planning of Lahore. Dr. Mohammed Iqbal (1877-1938) who dreamt of the unity of Muslims from the banks of Nile to the sands of Kashghar, lies buried in a red-sand-stone Tomb just outside the Shahi Fort. Allama Iqbal is also revered because of his vision of an independent state of the Muslims of the South Asian subcontinent.

But the most notable piece of contemporary architecture from Lahore is the Minar-i-Pakistan in Iqbal Park, a graceful and slender minaret built on the spot where the Muslims of the region demanded a separate state for the Muslims at the All India Muslim League session held there on March 23, 1940. The resolution passed on the occasion later came to be known as the "Pakistan Resolution" and was the signal for the launching of the movement which culminated in the birth of Pakistan on August 14, 1947.

Lahore became the heart of Pakistan immediately after the birth of the new nation. Apart from numerous institutions of higher learning, including two universities and two medical colleges, Lahore can be justly proud of its hundreds of parks and miles and miles of tree-lined boulevards which extend to the suburbs. Of late Lahore has emerged as a centre of commerce and industry and large industrial estates with a number of factories have sprung up. With the advent of the popularly elected government, state-sponsored labour colonies for housing workers have become very common and many parts of the town resemble a large construction site where work goes on day and night to complete housing projects.

Apart from being Pakistan's number one tourist attraction, Lahore is also the centre of Pakistan's book trade and its film industry.

Visitors who came to Lahore during the Summit period could not have failed to notice the pulsating dynamism of life in the town and the heartwarming welcome extended to them by the Lahorites during every moment of their stay. Perhaps these unforgettable experiences which the visitors carry with them from the town have given birth to the local adage, "Lahore is after all Lahore."

## PROGRAMME

## MEETING OF FOREIGN MINISTERS AND SENIOR OFFICIALS

### Monday, 18 February, 1974

Foreign Ministers arrive.

### Tuesday, 19 February, 1974

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1000 hrs to 1300 hrs | | Morning Session |
| 1600 hrs to 1900 hrs | | Afternoon Session |
| 2030 hrs | .. | Dinner by the Governor of the Punjab at Governor's House. |

### Wednesday, 20 February, 1974

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1000 hrs to. 1300 hrs | | Morning Session |
| 1600 hrs to 1900 hrs | | Afternoon Session |
| 2030 hrs | .. | Dinner by the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Defence at Hotel Intercontinental. |

## CONFERENCE OF KINGS AND HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

**Thursday, 21 February, 1974**

**Heads of State and Government arrive.**

**Friday, 22 February, 1974**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1345 hrs | .. | Prayer Congregation at Badshahi Mosque. |
| 1800 hrs to 1930 hrs | } | **Opening Session of Summit Conference at the Punjab Assembly Chambers.** |
| 2100 hrs | .. | Banquet by the President of Pakistan at Governor's House.<br>Khattak Dance |

**Saturday, 23 February, 1974**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1030 hrs to 1230 hrs | } | Morning Session |
| 1630 hrs to 1900 hrs | } | Afternoon Session |
| 2100 hrs | .. | Banquet by the Prime Minister at the Lahore Fort.<br>Cultural Soiree |

**Sunday, 24 February, 1974**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1030 hrs to 1230 hrs | } | Morning Session |
| 1530 hrs | .. | Reception by the citizens of Lahore, at Shalamar Gardens. |
| 1815 hrs | .. | Closing Session<br>(Snacks) |

**Monday, 25 February, 1974**

Departures

## THE HISTORIC CONGREGATION AT THE BADSHAHI MOSQUE

The last Friday of the revered month of Muharram was chosen for the start of the Conference. It was so arranged that before they met in the Punjab Assembly Chambers for the Conference, the leaders of the 700 million Muslims of the world should stand shoulder to shoulder with their brethren from Pakistan and bow their heads in prayer before Allah Almighty to seek His blessings and His guidance in their historic task of forging a united front of the Muslims from the shores of the Atlantic to the remote islands of the Pacific.

There could have been no better place for this historic prayer and this historic pledge than the largest Mosque in the world known as the Badshahi Masjid of Lahore, built by the Moghul Emperor Mohyuddin Muhammad Alamgir Aurangzeb in 1673-74. Almost 300 years have passed since those days yet the ravages of time have, mercifully, spared this remarkable edifice which stands in almost perfect condition as if to bear a living testimony to the immaculate taste of the builders. Some knowledgeable visitors were heard to remark that with its majestic simplicity, its four tapering minarets on the four corners, three bulbous domes, the well-proportioned parapets with crockets all round, the impressive turrets on the walls and its patterned floor on several levels, the Mosque was nothing less than a poem in sand-stone.

Despite its vastness, the quadrangle of the Badshahi Mosque could not accommodate the scores of thousands who had gathered there on Friday, February 22, 1974 to pray and also to have a glimpse

of the leaders of the Muslim world who had come to join the congregation.

A slight drizzle earlier in the morning had completely failed to dampen the spirits of hundreds of thousands of people who had jammed the three-mile long route from Charing Cross to the Mosque to give a very enthusiastic and spontaneous welcome to the visiting dignitaries. Hundreds of people carried the flags of the participating Muslim states and waved them at the distinguished visitors as they drove through the route. Several others carried placards with Quranic verses on the theme of the unity of the Muslims. Others had calligraphic excerpts from the Hadith (traditions of the Holy Prophet) on the subject of the universality of Islam.

Besides the hundreds who lined the route, the women crowded on the roof tops all along the route to have a glimpse of the visitors who were cheered enthusiastically. Despite the great enthusiasm of the crowd, complete discipline was maintained at all times.

Spirited slogans of Nara-e-Takbir Allah-o-Akbar, rent the air as the motorcades of the leaders passed by. The crowd had thickened from Golbagh and only a sea of human heads was visible inside the walled city area.

Villagers and well-dressed city people, workers and businessmen, women and children, young and old, were all surging forward to have a glimpse of the guests. The Jawans of Pakistan Army in their smart uniforms held their rifles chest high in salute. By far the most enthusiastic crowd had gathered in thousands on the road near the Minar-i-Pakistan and Iqbal Park and the motorcades of the leaders were lustily cheered as they slowed down because of the sharp curve. The historic significance of the spot was not lost on the leaders because it was here on March 23, 1940 that a separate homeland for the Muslims of undivided India was demanded at the session of All-India Muslim

League which met under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

Crowds in other places had started pouring since dawn to occupy the best vantage points along the route. Many had waited all day just to catch a glimpse of the leaders.

Piloted by military police jeeps and smartly dressed motorcycle riders, the leaders of the Islamic world warmly responded at this display of spontaneous affection by the surging crowds.

The Mosque courtyard was packed to capacity as the distinguished visitors arrived. The guests started arriving at the Mosque at 12.50 p.m. The first to come was the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Al Haj Syed Aminul Husseini.

Every time a distinguished guest, accompanied by members of his entourage and Pakistani officials looking after him, entered the Mosque, the thousands of Namazis who thronged the Mosque's compound stood up to say "Assalam-o-Alaikum" to them upon which, they also gave an enthusiastic wave because their reply could not be heard due to the slogans of welcome.

Hundreds who could not get into the Mosque said their Jumma prayers atop the roofs of the nearby buildings.

Some of the leading guests repeatedly waved the familiar sign of two clasped hands to the Namazis. This sign, it was later explained, symbolises the unity of the entire Muslim world.

The Chief of the Palestine Liberation Organisation Mr. Yasser Arafat warmly embraced Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at the steps of the Mosque. On arrival at the gate of the Mosque, Mr. Arafat was also greeted by the President of Pakistan, Mr. Fazal Elahi Chaudhry.

As the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto passed through the route, the crowd gave him a tumultuous ovation and raised slogans of "Bhutto Zindabad." The Prime Minister waved his hands in acknowledgment.

The President of the Republic of Chad, Mr. N'grata Tombalbaye is a Christian but he also went to the Mosque to express his solidarity with the cause of the Muslims.

The prayers on this historic occasion were led by Maulana Abdul Qadir Azad. Traditionally, a Khutba (sermon) forms an important part of the Friday Prayers. For his Khutba, the Imam had especially chosen verses of the Holy Quran and sayings of the Holy Prophet which enjoin Muslims to forge unity among themselves. When the Imam prayed for the solidarity of the Muslim world, liberation of the occupied Arab territories, early solution of the problems facing the Muslims all over the world and for the success of the Islamic Summit Conference, the huge congregation responded with a loud "Ameen" in unison.

The most sublime moment came at the end of the prayers. The world saw row after row of rulers, men who wield power and men of destiny squatting on the floor of the Shahi Mosque. It was a magnificent spectacle of majesty subdued by humility of man in the house of God. They were sitting there as equals. Forgotten was the distinction between the mighty and the humble, the ruler and the ruled. When they went down in "sajda" to touch the ground with their foreheads, it was a mighty row of heads touching earth in obeisance. Never had history seen so many illustrious rulers and so many heads who wear crowns bowed in submission before God.

After the prayers, the motorcades of the leaders followed the same route they had taken earlier in the afternoon. The thick crowds

had waited patiently for their chance to spot the well-known faces they had missed earlier.

In retrospect it could perhaps rightly be claimed that the historic congregation at Badshahi Mosque has heralded a golden chapter in the Islamic renaissance. Prayers would, of course, be offered at other Mosques too but whenever Muslim leaders meet again, the memory of that historic day of Badshahi Mosque in Lahore would for ever remain fresh.

## SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS BY THE DELEGATES

# PART I

*The inaugural session of the Second Islamic Summit Conference, attended by Kings, Heads of State and Governments and Representatives of the Muslim nations of the world commenced in the Punjab Assembly Chambers in Lahore on the afternoon of Friday, February 22, 1974 corresponding with the 29th of Muharram, 1394 A.H.*

*Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was in the chair.*

*Seated on rostrum on either side of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were Mr. Hasan Mohammed Al Tohamy, Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, and Mr. Agha Shahi, Pakistan's Foreign Secretary.*

*The proceedings started with a recitation from the Holy Quran by Qari Mohammed Zahir Qasmi.*

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

102. O ye who believe! Observe your duty to Allah with right observance, and die not save as those who have surrendered (unto Him);

يٰٓاَيُّهَا الَّذِيْنَ اٰمَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللّٰهَ حَقَّ تُقٰتِهٖ وَلَا
تَمُوْتُنَّ اِلَّا وَاَنْتُمْ مُّسْلِمُوْنَ ۝١٠٢

103. And hold fast, all of you together, to the cable of Allah, and do not separate. And remember Allah's favour unto you: how ye were enemies and He made friendship between your hearts so that ye became as brothers by His grace; and (how) ye were upon the brink of an abyss of fire, and He did save you from it. Thus Allah maketh clear His revelations unto you, that haply ye may be guided,

وَاعْتَصِمُوْا بِحَبْلِ اللّٰهِ جَمِيْعًا وَّلَا تَفَرَّقُوْا
وَاذْكُرُوْا نِعْمَتَ اللّٰهِ عَلَيْكُمْ اِذْ كُنْتُمْ اَعْدَاۤءً
فَاَلَّفَ بَيْنَ قُلُوْبِكُمْ فَاَصْبَحْتُمْ بِنِعْمَتِهٖٓ اِخْوَانًا
وَكُنْتُمْ عَلٰى شَفَا حُفْرَةٍ مِّنَ النَّارِ فَاَنْقَذَكُمْ
مِّنْهَا كَذٰلِكَ يُبَيِّنُ اللّٰهُ لَكُمْ اٰيٰتِهٖ لَعَلَّكُمْ
تَهْتَدُوْنَ ۝١٠٣

104. And there may spring from you a nation who invite to goodness, and enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency. Such are they who are successful.

وَلْتَكُن مِّنكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ
بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنكَرِ وَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ
الْمُفْلِحُونَ ١٠٤ .

THE FAMILY OF 'IMRĀN

سُورَةُ آلِ عِمْرَانَ مَدَنِيَّةٌ

*After the recitation from the Holy Quran, the Chairman called upon Mr. Ahmad Tayeb Ben Hima the Moroccan Foreign Minister, to read out the message from His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco who was the host of the First Islamic Summit Conference held at Rabat in September 1969.*

## Message from

### His Majesty King Hassan II of Morocco
### (Read by Mr. Ahmad Al Tayeb Ben Hima, Foreign Minister of Morocco)

*In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; may His peace rest upon our Holy Prophet and his kin.*

*Your Majesties, Your Highnesses, Gentlemen,*

It would have given us immense pleasure to have been amongst you in Lahore, the city with a glorious Islamic past. But we were impeded from realizing this wish, so dear to our soul, by certain causes.

The first Islamic Summit Conference, convened in Rabat in response to the call of Muslim countries following the villainous aggression on our sacred heritage in the Holy City of Al-Quds, has laid the cornerstone of this blessed gathering that crystallizes world Muslim unity.

Our firm determination to pursue that path will make our Muslim society conscious of the dignity, strength and invincibility their unity might achieve. Indeed our unity is the only way to achieve Muslim aspirations as to the liberation of the usurped territories, the restoration of the Holy City of Jerusalem (Al-Quds) and Al-Aqsa Mosque whose precincts have been blessed by the Lord, and the support to be given to our Palestinian brothers in their struggle for the recovery of their legitimate rights in their homeland.

We all undoubtedly believe that our unity and common outlook will, by the grace of God, enable us to repel any type of aggression. Furthermore, it provides a chance for our countries to turn into reality their legitimate ambition to link their present, overflowing with bright hopes, with their glorious past, with the ultimate aim of edifying our civilization, which rests on the noblest of principles and aims.

The Second Islamic Summit Conference is being held in Lahore four years after the First Conference. A comprehensive assessment of Muslim achievements between these two Conferences, the snares that beset them and the disasters that befell them, confirmed our conviction that we are on the right path, spurs us on along that path in order to fulfil our appointed task for the welfare of our immortal Muslim nation.

A glance at the geographical distribution of our Muslim people across several continents reveals beyond any doubt the universality of Islam and of our Holy Prophet's mission.

We are all conscious of the magnitude of our historic responsibilities. We are determined, by the grace of God, to shoulder them, as long as we are bound fast by unbreakable unity and so long as we are guided by the divine word: "And hold fast all together by the rope which God stretches out for you and be not divided among yourselves."

I hail you and pray for the complete success of your Conference. It is a genuine pleasure for me to express my compliments to our brothers, the people of Pakistan and their Government, headed by H.E. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan. I hail the colossal efforts he has exerted to make possible the convening of this Conference and to ensure its success.

May God help you along the right path and may He assist all in carrying out His wishes.

Peace be upon you.

**Welcome Address by**

**Mr. Fazal Elahi Chaudhry**
**President of Pakistan**

*Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, Excellencies,*

This is a moment of great pride and privilege for the people of Pakistan. On their behalf and on my own I have great pleasure in extending to this august assembly the most cordial welcome.

The recent conflagration in the Middle East has once again dramatised the issues which have led to four unfortunate wars in a quarter century. It has demonstrated that there can be no peace until the injustices that underlie the confrontation are removed. In its determination to eradicate these injustices the Islamic community today stands united as never before. The Muslim world has proved the invincibility of the human spirit. It has shown that it will never acquiesce in the iniquitous order Israel has sought to impose upon the Middle East. The clarion call of the struggle waged by the Arab people, in pursuit of their noble cause, vibrates in the hearts of all who cherish justice. We are bound to our brethren by faith and history. We cannot be indifferent to their agony.

The task of this assembly of the leaders of the nations and peoples is to build further upon the unity demonstrated by the Islamic community, during and after the recent conflict. We must strengthen the hands of our brothers in peace as we did in war. We must unite with them in their legitimate quest for a just and peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. More than ever before, there is an

imperative need for the Islamic States to act in concert.

In the hour of our anguish and sorrow at the sacrilege against Al-Aqsa, one of history's most venerated shrines, His Majesty King Hassan rendered a noble service to the sublime cause of Islam by bringing us together at Rabat. That Conference established the precedent for a periodic assembly of Kings, Heads of State and Government of the Islamic world. In that Conference, the world saw the fruition of the efforts of His Majesty King Faisal for Muslim unity. His consistent support and encouragement has established the practice of fraternal consultation among the leaders of the Muslim nations. Appropriately, he is also a co-sponsor of this Conference.

The torch of Islam lit 14 hundred years ago in Arabia, has illumined our land and many others since, with ever increasing incandescence. Islam is a unity of the spirit, it binds people irrespective of their race, colour or nationality. It stirs the inhabitants of every continent. The presence today amongst us for the first time of the distinguished leaders of Gabon, Guinea-Bissau and Uganda is a fulfilment of the desire for a more universal association amongst our brethren. I would like to extend to them a most fraternal welcome. We take particular satisfaction that besides these countries, the brotherly countries of Cameroun, Gambia and Upper Volta have been admitted as members of the Islamic Conference.

*Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, Excellencies,*

The convening of this Conference in Pakistan is the fulfilment of a most cherished desire of its people. I am sure that even in the few hours you have been in our midst, you would have witnessed the deep affection and high esteem in which you are held by the people of Pakistan. We are especially happy to welcome you to the historic city of Lahore, a city of learning and scholarship, an abode of saints and sages and a repository of Muslim culture and tradition. It is our

ardent desire that your brief sojourn in this city will be pleasant and comfortable. We shall do all we can to make this possible. We are conscious of our limitations. However, there are no limitations to the affection that the people of Pakistan have for you in their hearts.

*Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, Excellencies,*

You represent in your most august persons the quintessence of the Islamic spirit which is a dynamic entity capable of achieving any goal which it sets itself. The recent events have enabled us to break free from the shackles that enslaved our minds and spirit. We are poised on the threshold of a glorious new era. Meeting at this crucial juncture, we have to channelise the limitless gifts bestowed upon our peoples by Allah to prepare them for the role which destiny has ordained. Imbued with a sense of purpose and mission, this august assembly will inspire our people to realise the radiant future which awaits them.

Today, the eyes of the world are focussed on this Conference. I am sure that I voice the prayers of Muslims everywhere in beseeching Almighty Allah to guide you in your deliberations and grant you success.

Thank you.

## Address by

### Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
### Prime Minister of Pakistan

*In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.*

*Your Majesties, Royal Highnesses, Excellencies,*

*Dear Brothers in Islam,*

This unique assemblage of Monarchs, Presidents and Prime Ministers has gathered at a moment in world affairs which is as critical as it can be creative. Here is a resplendent array of statesmen and leaders, profound in their insight into the issues that will engage us at this Conference. By asking me to preside at it, you have conferred an honour upon me which in reality is a tribute to Pakistan. I am filled with both humility and pride: the humility is personal and the pride national.

By agreeing to meet here, this assembly has honoured also the city of Lahore. This ancient city symbolises not only Pakistan's national struggle but also its abiding solidarity with the Muslim world. Here in Lahore lived that magnificent herald of Islamic renaissance, Muhammad Iqbal, who fathered the idea of Pakistan, who articulated the Muslim's anguish and his hope and whose voice sounded the clarion call of revolt and resurgence.

Also here in Lahore, 34 years ago, was adopted the celebrated resolution that inaugurated the glorious freedom struggle of the

Muslims of the South Asian subcontinent under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah. It is a fact of no small significance that the same session of the Muslim League which adopted the Pakistan resolution also adopted unanimously a resolution on Palestine. The resolution recorded, and I quote, "the considered opinion, in clear and unequivocal language, that no arrangements of a piecemeal character should be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world." The resolution further warned against the danger of using force in the Holy Land "to overawe the Arabs .... into submission."

With only the amendments necessary because of the disappearance of British colonialism, the resolution is as pertinent today as it was in 1940. Not the quirks of history but the sublime logic of Providence has decreed that the same warning should again issue from Lahore.

Pakistan's support for the just causes of the Muslim world is organically related to its own national vocation. It has never suffered a severance between its national impulse and the urges of Muslim emancipation. When the partition of Palestine was decided under the British Mandate, a demonstration was held here in Lahore at which Iqbal was present. On that occasion, he emphasized that the problem of Palestine, and I quote his words, "does not concern Palestine alone but will have wide repercussions in the entire Islamic world." Later, in October 1947, soon after our emergence, the Quaid-i-Azam warned that the partition of Palestine would entail, and I quote his words, "the gravest danger and unprecedented conflict" and that "the entire Muslim world will revolt against such a decision which cannot be supported historically, politically and morally." Soon afterwards, Pakistan said at the United Nations that the Holy Land was being nailed and stretched on the cross. All these words went unheeded but today, decades later, they are still timely.

Pakistan's involvement with the issue whose scene is the Arab Middle East is accompanied by its deep attachment to its dear neighbour Iran and to Turkey and by friendship and cordiality with other Muslim countries—and if I especially mention Indonesia and Malaysia, I do not underrate our relations with others. Pakistan's cultural history bears a Persian-Turkish stamp. It is an immense source of satisfaction to us that this historical affinity is now reflected in close fraternal relations with both these countries, relations which have proved sustaining in times of stress. With Afghanistan, Pakistan shares a good part of its history, culture and traditions. Pakistan's approach to the problems of the Muslim world is, therefore, informed with a certain range of sympathy and awareness. This, we believe, is in accord with the great ends of Muslim brotherhood.

A few moments ago, in deference to the sentiments of the leaders participating in this Conference and as a result of the mediatory efforts of this Conference, my Government has extended formal recognition to Bangladesh. We hope this mutual reconciliation, which is in the spirit of Islamic fraternity, will now bury a past that the peoples of both our countries would prefer to see forgotten.

*Dear Brothers,*

It is only natural that the leaders of the Muslim world, even when coming to this meeting, should have their minds full of a variety of concerns—some national, others regional, all bearing on Muslim interests. But this Conference cannot address itself except to the specific purpose for which it has been convened as a sequel to the war of October 1973. All of us are aware that the previous Summit Conference, which was held in Rabat in 1969, was convened to consider the question of Jerusalem following the outrage committed under Israeli occupation to the Holy Al-Aqsa Mosque. Likewise, this Conference has a circumscribed agenda. By adopting the agenda, we do not deny that there are other vital issues which agitate Muslim

minds. These are burning issues too. Your host country, for instance, has been a victim of international conspiracies and is concerned with an intense question in which, it believes, its stand is based on nothing but justice and concern for Muslim rights. However, we would be doing a disservice to the Conference if we sought to exploit this platform to ventilate our national standpoints. If Muslims sustain their unity, if they mutually strengthen themselves, if they place equity above expedience, if they perceive the direction of historic forces, a time will come when such issues can be discussed without apology or awkwardness. At present, this Conference is primarily concerned with the pre-eminent issues that are inscribed on its agenda and that concern the heartland of Muslim life and culture.

The situation in the Middle East is an outgrowth of the problem of Palestine and the core of the problem, viewed both historically and concentrically, is Al-Quds or Jerusalem. Fifty years ago, there was no Palestine problem; there was only a country named Palestine. Only the right arrogated to itself by Western colonialism enabled one Western nation to promise to a section of another people, namely the Jews, the country of a third, the Arabs. It needs to be reiterated that it is this fundamental injustice, this uprooting of a people from their homeland and the planting of an alien population on it, that evokes the resentment of the entire Muslim world. The malady consists of a cancerous outgrowth of colonialism, the establishment of settler regimes or the imposition of immigrant minority rule. The root cause of the conflict is not an innate animosity between the Muslim and the Jew or even between the Arab and the Jew. As Muslims, we entertain no hostility against any human community; when we say this, we do not exclude the Jewish people. To Jews as Jews we bear no malice; to Jews as Zionists, intoxicated with their militarism and reeking with technological arrogance, we refuse to be hospitable. The pogroms inflicted on them during the centuries and the holocaust to which they were subjected under Nazism fill some of the darkest pages of human history. But redemption should

have come from the Western world and not have been exacted, as it was, from the Palestinian people.

The tragedy of Palestine has agitated Muslim minds for half a century. The outrage of its partition in 1947 and the graver injury of its occupation by Israel in 1967 have been intolerable because the territory is part of the spiritual centre of the Muslim world. The Palestine question was referred to the world organization at a time when that organization was hardly representative of the international community. The plan which it put forward for the partition of Palestine would not obtain a passing consideration today from the majority of its membership, consisting of the Third World nations that are sworn to the principle of the self-determination of peoples. Even at that time, the Muslim nations reminded the Western world of its own long-term interests and of the folly of forcibly driving a wedge into the Middle East. These reminders proved fruitless. These importunities were scorned.

This is the historic dimension of the Middle East problem which cannot be banished from sight even when present realities are to be focussed upon. Israel has gorged and fattened on the West's sympathies, nurtured itself on violence and expanded through aggression. It has brought suffering to the inhabitants of the land which it usurped, sequestrated their patrimony and ejected them by the hundreds of thousands. Its neighbouring nations have been robbed of their peace and tranquillity. Its apologists have sought to justify its repeated resorts to force on the ground of security. But nothing could be clearer than that belligerency towards its neighbours will only turn Israel into an international ghetto. Force cannot bring it security nor obduracy peace.

After 1967 Israel became more and more arrogant; it derided the censure of its actions by the United Nations. Its advocates became increasingly apathetic to the growing signs of the untenability of the

situation arising from the war of 1967. The result was that an iniquitous, indeed an absurd, situation was frozen and the forces of sanity became immobile.

This was the cause of the war of 1973. A recourse to war can never be a happy decision. Which nation would willingly sacrifice the flower of its manhood or wish to forfeit its development and mortgage its progress? But situations arise in which there is no choice but war against the usurper. Such a situation was created for the Arab peoples. Tribute is due to them for meeting it manfully. Let us pay homage to those who laid down their lives in the sands of Sinai and the heights of Golan. These martyrs died in the casue of justice and human dignity.

The war has released currents which could flow towards a just settlement of the Middle East problem. The Arab cause has been actively supported by a vast segment of humanity. The nations of Africa have demonstrated their solidarity with Arabs and placed principle above expediency. Under the pressure of the economic forces, if not through a perception of the rights and wrongs of the situation, the Western powers have awakened to the urgency of a definitive settlement of the Middle East problem. The mediatory processes which have thus been put into motion are not to be disdained.

These are good auguries. But they can vanish if an apathy towards the root of the problem, and a satisfaction at partial solutions, begins to sway the policies of those who have supported Israel. On their part, the Arab states have shown that their approach to the problem is not theological, like Israel's, but one which visualizes a series of peaceful adjustments beginning with disengagement.

Disengagement, however, is not peace. It can turn peace into a mirage if it operates as a substitute for a comprehensive settlement.

We have a right to expect that the peace which is negotiated in Geneva will deal with all the issues integral to the Middle East conflict. The withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, the restoration of the Holy City to Arab sovereignty and the restitution of the rights of the Palestinian people, are the essential elements of a settlement.

All these elements derive from the rational principles of a just and durable peace. All of them come within the four corners of Resolution 242, if that resolution is rightly interpreted. The exponents of the Israeli view contend that the Security Council resolution envisages the possibility of Israel retaining a part of the occupied Arab territories. This contention is sought to be based on the provision regarding the right of every state in the region "to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries." The perversity of such an interpretation is evident from the fact that the resolution as a whole states its objective to be "the fulfilment of Charter principles." What principle is more basic to the Charter of the United Nations than the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by the use of force? Furthermore, no state can arrogate to itself the right to determine its secure borders even if these encroach on the territory of another. No state claims such a right. The security of a state's frontiers depends on their conformity to international law. A nation's defence strategy is based on its recognised frontiers and not on its aggressive appetites. Finally, the question arises: Whose security comes first? Certainly, on the record of the aggressions committed during the last twenty-seven years, it is the Arabs who need secure borders against Israel and not Israel against the Arabs.

Among the Arab territories occupied by Israel, Al-Quds holds a special place in Muslim hearts. A unique symbol of the confluence of Islam with the sacred traditions of Abraham, Moses and Jesus, all of them Prophets whom Muslims hold in the highest reverence, Jerusalem is inscribed on our souls as the site of, in the words of the Holy

Quran, "the Farther Mosque the precincts of which Allah has blessed." Associated as it is with the Ascension of the Last Prophet, it is tied to our inmost spiritual fibre. Except for an interval during the Crusades, it has been a Muslim City—I repeat, a Muslim City—from the year 637 A.D. For more than 1300 years, Muslims have held Jerusalem as a trust for all who venerated it. Muslims alone could be its loving and impartial custodians for the simple reason that Muslims alone believe in all the three prophetic traditions rooted in Jerusalem.

We gladly recognise that Jerusalem affects the cherished sensibilities of men and women of three world faiths. But there are two thousand million Muslims and Christians, and fifteen million Jews in the world. Out of these, less than three million owe their allegiance to Israel. What principle of justice would confer on this minority the right to hold dominion over the Holy City? What except a kind of cynicism can allow the City of Peace to be treated by Israel as the spoils of war?

I must make it clear that it is not *our* position on Jerusalem but *Israel's* which is contrary to the objective criteria by which the status of territories is determined. It is Israel which cites the name of a religion and a culture and invokes its memories or emotions in order to lend justification to acts that are wholly illegal. Such attempts can only make a conflict implacable and bring in its train a religious war. Viewed in a non-religious perspective, the question of Jerusalem's status cannot be unrelated to the sovereign rights of the people of Jerusalem itself, the majority of whom were Arabs, violently expelled and uprooted from the western part in 1948. Nor can the special attachment of Jewish people to Jerusalem override the principle of the inadmissibility of territorial acquisition by force. The Jewish right to Jerusalem certainly connotes the right of access and worship. We cannot recognize any additional right.

On the basis of all these considerations, the issue of the Holy City of Jerusalem admits of no doubt or division in our ranks. Let me make it clear from this platform that any agreement, any protocol, any understanding which postulates the continuance of Israeli occupation of the Holy City or the transfer of the Holy City to any non-Muslim or non-Arab sovereignty will not be worth the paper it is written on.

This is not a threat. I am saying it in full awareness of the intricacies of the negotiations which may be under way. Not to give this warning would be to encourage an illusion which will be fatal to the establishment of lasting peace in the Middle East. In this respect, there is a fire in our hearts which no prevarication, no skilful evasions on the part of others, will ever be able to quench.

The international community, and particularly those states which sponsored the partition of Palestine in 1947, bear a heavy responsibility. They have to redress the injustices perpetrated on the Palestinian people. If it were not also tragic, what could be more bizarre than the phenomenon of a people being dispossessed of its homeland and condemned to live in agony and dispersion, not in imperialism's hoary past but in our day and age? Who cannot understand their anger at seeing immigrants from all over the world invited, nay cajoled, to settle on their own homeland? It is not the eruptions of insensate violence, disowned by their leadership, but the purity of their rights which must influence the world's attitude to their problem.

The states gathered here today are committed by the very fact of their adherence to the Charter of the Islamic Conference to strive for the restitution of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. This is our obligation not only to the people of Palestine, not even merely to the cause of Islamic brotherhood, but also to the larger cause of universal peace. We see glimmers today of a new recogni-

tion of the need to resolve the problem of Palestine. This recognition has been earned by the heroic sons and daughters of Palestine through their suffering, their fortitude and the constancy of their commitment.

*Dear Brothers*,

We are emerging today out of nearly a half millennium of decline. During this long period, our collective attitude has been one of nostalgia for a vanished glory mixed with an incomprehension of the movements of history. There were occasional thrusts of hope and endeavour but, by and large, we have lived, as Iqbal said, "in a prison-house of thoughts and emotions which, during the course of centuries, we have forged around ourselves." "The superb idealism of our faith," in Iqbal's words, was stifled by "the mediaeval fancies of theologians and legists." An intellectual lethargy paralysed our thought. Empiricism withered among us. Obscurantism took hold. The spirit of inquiry and enterprise was deadened. Form became more important than substance. We broke ourselves into schisms; we became a collection of warring factions. This brought about the inroads, and eventually the invasion of Western colonialism. From Maghreb to Indonesia, the Muslim peoples came under the domination, in one form or another, of Western Europe. Our cultures were fragmented, our traditions ruptured and our mutual communications disrupted. The imperialist powers belittled our heritage, pillaged our treasures, denuded us of our resources and the flower of our manhood was sacrificed to serve their strategies. Muslim was turned against Muslim, brother against brother. There was a continuity of setbacks, a succession of disasters, which we shared in common with all the oppressed peoples of the world.

Not until the Second World War exhausted the warring states of Europe did the era of colonialism come to an end and the nations of the Third World, including the Muslim countries, achieve inde-

pendence. But mere political independence brought nothing more than the trappings of sovereignty. Economic life in the developing countries remained tied to the so-called "metropolitan" areas. The Third World remained consigned to the role of supplying raw materials for the industrialized nations. It had no control over the exploitation of its natural resources and no power to determine the prices of the commodities which it produced. Steadily, the value of these commodities fell in relation to the price of industrial goods and services supplied by the affluent nations. This enormous iniquity has been much talked about. The Third World has emphasised, time and again, that poverty and affluence cannot co-exist in the world of today. But apart from the scant response from the industrialized world, we ourselves have not fully realized the nature and value of economic power nor grasped the urgent need of developing science and technology for our progress, indeed for our very survival. We have not appreciated that it was not a want of spiritual strength in us, compared with other peoples, that made humiliation our lot but the weakness of our economic enterprise and organization. After all, even in the darkest days of colonialism, we did not lack faith but we certainly lacked an understanding of economic forces and technology and the role played by them in fashioning a people's fate.

The war of last October has, however, precipitated a chain of events and created an environment in which the developing countries can at last hope to secure the establishment of a more equitable economic order. Some far-reaching possibilities have been opened by the demonstrated ability of the oil-producing countries to concert their policies and determine the price of their resources. This may well be a watershed in history. It may well presage the end of a deranged world order.

With the recent dramatic improvement in the terms of trade of the oil-producing countries, which will lead to a rapid increase in their financial resources, an unprecedented shift will occur in the

global monetary and financial balance of power. The Third World can now participate in the economic and financial councils of the world on an equal footing with the developed countries and will be able to acquire a due measure of influence and control in international financial and economic institutions. Indeed, for the first time, the Third World is potentially in a position to use its own resources for financing its development through co-operative effort. It can now forge its own financial institutions for bringing about rapid development of the less developed countries.

These are exciting opportunities. They can be grasped or they can be missed. For there are also perils and pitfalls in the present situation. The gravest of these is that of a division between the oil-producing and the non-oil-producing countries of the Third World. The dislocation in the balance of payments position of developing countries which has occurred suddenly can be used to sow discord and cause disarray in the ranks of Asian and African nations with grave damage to the political causes they are espousing today.

This is a danger which must be overcome by positive action. Concrete measures have to be evolved, institutions established and machineries devised, which would channel the resources now commanded by the oil producers in such a way as to release them from their dependence on countries outside the Third World for their basic needs and services and also strengthen the Third World economically. The concept implicit in this approach is not that of aid as a form of charity from one developing country to another. The concept is that of mutually supportive economic activity in countries of the Third World which would complement their individual resources and give them a collective economic strength.

I said before that, compared to other peoples, it is not spiritual but economic strength that we have lacked so far. There is no power without economic strength. Unless we reorientate our outlook and



*President Hafez Al-Assad of Syria takes salute at Lahore airport. President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto were present at the airport to welcome the Syrian President.*



*Sheikh Issa Bin Salman Al Khalifa, the Ruler of Bahrain, takes salute at a march past at Lahore airport. President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto welcomed the Bahrain Ruler.*

*Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al Thani, Emir of Qatar stands at the saluting base flanked by President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who welcomed him at Lahore airport.*





*General Idi Amin, President of Uganda takes salute at Lahore airport along with his hosts President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.*



*Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Repuclic of Mauritania was received at Lahore airport by President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.*

*Prof. Turan Gunes, The Turkish Foreign Minister stands at the saluting base at Lahore airport along with his hosts President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.*



*Tun Abdur Razzak Bin Datuk Hussain, Prime Minister of Malaysia being greeted at Lahore airport by President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry.*



*Dr. Adam Malik, Indonesian Foreign Minister, Tunku Ahmad Rithauddeen, Malaysian Minister for Information and Broadcasting and Mr. Mohammed Saleh Mutee, Foreign Minister of the Popular Democratic Republic of Yemen arrive at Lahore airport.*

*Mr. Abbas Ali Khalatbari, the Iranian Foreign Minister was welcomed by Mr. Aziz Ahmad, Pakistan's Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs. The Iranian Ambassador in Pakistan Mr. Manoutchehr Zelli is on the right.*



*Talking to newsmen at Lahore airport are (from left to right) Mr. Ali Mbouy Boutzit, Gabon Minister of Industries, Al Haj Syed Aminul Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Palestine and Mr. Ahmad Al Tayeb Ben Hima, the Moroccan Foreign Minister.*



*Lt. Col. Charles Samba Cissokho, Foreign Minister of Mali was accorded a cordial welcome at Lahore airport.*

*Mr. Habib Chatty, Foreign Minister of Tunisia being greeted by Mr. Aziz Ahmad, Pakistan's Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs.*

try to develop the potential to meet our basic economic and security needs through co-operative endeavour, we will continue to lack the inherent strength, the solidity, which is necessary for achieving our social, cultural and political purposes. The Muslim countries are now so placed as to be able to play a most constructive and rewarding role for co-operation among themselves and with other countries of the Third World. Not only are they possessed of a common heritage and outlook but also their economies are such as to enable them to supplement one another's development effort. It is time that we translate the sentiments of Islamic unity into concrete measures of co-operation and mutual benefit. It will bring us strength in spirit and substance. Let not posterity say that we were presented with an historic, possibly unrepeatable, opportunity to release ourselves from the injustices inflicted on us for many centuries and we proved ourselves unequal to it.

The kind of action that we envisage may entail some new departures. But it can be fuelled by certain positive elements. There are distinct signs of a new vision today. Moved by it, and despite the current hardships they face, the non-oil-producing countries like Pakistan are determined not to succumb to any pressures which would disrupt the unity of the Third World. Efforts are being made to achieve viable solutions in the larger context of the problem of commodity prices in relation to the prices of industrial products. The United Nations certainly has to shoulder a responsibility in this field. We have warmly supported the initiative taken by Algeria to have the problem discussed in a global, and not a parochial, perspective. The issues, though seemingly economic, are political in the deepest sense. But given an attitude of mutual understanding and accommodation, the apparently conflicting interests of the various groups of countries can be reconciled. We must all pool our endeavours towards that objective.

*Dear Brothers*,

As we meet here today, I find it necessary that we should clearly

set forth not only our attitudes to the issues of the day but also the bases of Muslim unity. There are certain features of our aim and purpose which are not yet clearly perceived by the rest of the world. These must be stressed if an understanding of the Muslim world is to be promoted in the rest of the human race.

First, we repudiate chauvinism as much as we reject alien dominance. This repudiation arises not only from our recognition of the realities of time and space but from the very spirit and temper of Islam. As there is an arrogance of power, so also can there be an arrogance of belief. Our religion warns us severely against any conceit which would breed the delusion that we are the chosen people and we enjoy an immunity from the operation of the forces that shape the destinies of mankind.

Secondly, our vocation as Muslims is not to harbour hostility against other human communities, East or West, North or South, but to so conduct ourselves that we can help build bridges of communication and sympathy between one set of nations and another. We draw our inspiration from the Holy Quran and I quote:

> "Say: To Allah belong both East and West: He guideth whom He will to a straight path. Thus we have appointed you a midmost nation that you might be witnesses over the nations and the Apostle a witness over yourselves."

In being called the midmost nation or the People of the Middle, we are charged with the mission of mediating conflicts, spurning the doctrines of bigotry and hate, trampling underfoot the myths of racial or cultural superiority and translating into social terms the concepts of mercy and beneficence which constitute the core of our faith.

The concept of the People of the Middle is suggestive also of a new synthesis. Through a conventional opposition, the East has

been considered as spiritual and contemplative and the West materialistic and pragmatic. Islam rejects such dichotomies. The Muslim accepts both worlds, the spiritual and the material. What he tries to do is to find the reserves of spirituality, the respect for human personality and the sense of what is sacred in all cultural traditions, which could serve to fashion a new type of man. His aim is more than the mere mastery of nature. If he is a true Muslim, he is at once Eastern and Western, materialistic and spiritual, a man of enterprise as well as of grace.

Thirdly, it is inherent in our purpose that we promote, rather than subvert, the solidarity of the Third World. This solidarity is based on human and not on ethnic factors. The distinctions of race are anathema to Islam but a kinship of suffering and struggle appeals to a religion which has always battled against oppression and sought to establish justice. This solidarity reflects the similarity of the historic experiences of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. They have suffered the same injustices, borne the same travail and are engaged in the same struggle. Theirs is a solidarity of the forces that seek to combat exploitation, end the disparities in mankind's lot and reclaim the inheritance of its majority.

It may well be that, in the cause of the Third World, and in humanity's struggle towards a balanced world order, we, the Muslims, are now being called upon to play a central role.

I must, in this context, refer to a certain ambivalence in our Muslim minds about the role of nationalism in Islam and its compatibility with the establishment of an Islamic community. Let us face it that there has been some uncertainty on this issue. We have several nationalisms among us, Arab and non-Arab, all equally vigorous and vibrant with aspiration. All these nationalisms constitute our responses to the historic situation that we have confronted in our different geographical locations. Nationalism as the motive

force of a people's liberation, nationalism as an agent of a people's consolidation, nationalism as a propeller of social and economic progress is a powerful force which we will do nothing to weaken. Furthermore, nationalism is a necessary tributary to the broad stream of human culture. It takes a full understanding of one's own country, of its history and language and traditions to develop an understanding of other countries, of their inner life and of our relations with them. Islam provides both the spirit and the technique of such a mutuality. Patriotism and loyalty to Islam can thus be fused into a transcendent harmony. As Muslims, we can rise higher than our nationalism, without damaging or destroying it.

But we have studied the history of Europe and we cannot refuse to profit from its experience. Nationalism as a breeder of discord and as an agent of untrammelled egoism has brought untold sorrow to the Western peoples. It has limited mankind's horizons, constricted its sympathies. It has spawned wars. Its history is soaked in blood. Not we, the Muslims, alone, but all peoples of the Third World must despise that kind of nationalism. Without, therefore, visualizing the establishment of a supra-national entity which would stifle the positive aspects of nationalism, our grouping together can have no meaning if it does not help us to avoid the perils to which Europe laid prone for nearly four hundred years. It is inevitable that, in the course of human events, we, as nation-states, will sometimes have differences between ourselves. Nothing would be more chimerical than the notion that such differences can be eliminated overnight. But the important thing is our resolve that we shall not let these differences ever be so magnified as to impel one Muslim nation to go to war with another or interfere in its internal affairs.

In an age when no nation can sustain its insularity, at a time when communications and economic forces are serving to promote larger groupings of nations and countries, we owe no apology for the reassertion of the common affinities amongst the countries of the Muslim world.

*Your Majesties, Royal Highnesses, Excellencies,*

I have ventured to set forth some basic viewpoints of the Islamic community which, I believe, are beyond controversy among us. As we proceed to our discussions, we have to bear in mind that it would be unrealistic to expect a complete identity of approach and emphasis among thirty-six sovereign states. Each state represented here works under compulsions which cannot be precisely the same as those felt by another. But while we can differ on points of stress and on tactics, I believe we will all hold fast to a unity of purpose and aim. We can say without exaggeration that our purpose is unsullied by any thoughts of aggrandizement. We can say with confidence that our aim is to promote justice and equilibrium. Our unity is not directed against any creed, religious or secular. It is not nourished by hate or rancour. Its drive and force is a passion for justice.

This Conference must awaken the world's appreciation of the fact that the Arab cause is the cause of all countries, small and large, which oppose aggression and will not suffer the use of force to be rewarded with territorial gains.

This Conference must drive home to the world that the cause of the people of Palestine is the cause of all those who believe in the right of a people to determine its own destiny.

This Conference must indelibly impress, indeed brand, on the consciousness of humanity that we will not permit the spiritual vocation of Jerusalem to be subjected to the fortunes of war.

This Conference must herald the coming of an era of fruitful economic co-operation among the developing countries for their common benefit.

Thus, this Conference will contribute towards a covenant of peace in the tormented lands of the Middle East. It will also, I hope,

initiate the processes which will result in strengthening the economic, social and cultural enterprises of the Muslim peoples.

*Dear Brothers,*

As I survey this splendid gathering, I recall that as a young student twenty-six years ago, I was asked to address the student body of a University, almost wholly non-Muslim, on the Islamic Heritage. After making a youthful attempt at defining it, I spoke of Muslim unity against exploitation and of Muslim revival and sketched a plan for a Muslim commonwealth. I ventured to predict that a movement in this direction would take shape in the next twenty years.

There have been periods in my life when, like all of us, I have been assailed by doubts whether this vision of mine would be fulfilled. Today, despite all difficulties in our path, I bow my head in gratitude to Allah for making me witness to a secne which should dispel those doubts.

I trust that we will not fritter away the historic opportunities now presented to us. For long centuries, we have hoped for a turning point. That turning point has arrived. The break of a new dawn is not now a forlorn hope. Poverty need no longer be our portion. Humiliation need no longer be our heritage. Ignorance need no longer be the emblem of our identity.

I cannot conclude better than with that sublime prayerful message which comes at the end of the longest chapter of the Holy Scripture:

"Allah tasketh not a soul beyond its scope;

"For it, that which it hath earned and against it that which it hath deserved;

"Our Lord! Condemn us not if we forget or fall into error;

"Our Lord! Lay not on us such a burden as Thou didst lay upon those before us;

"Our Lord! Impose not on us a burden greater than we have the strength to bear;

"Absolve us and forgive us and have mercy on us;

"Thou art our Protector; Grant us succour against those who reject Thee."

## Address by

### Mr. Hafez Al-Assad
### President of the Syrian Arab Republic

*Mr. President, Brothers,*

It is a pleasure to start my address with a sincere salute to this hospitable country to which we are bound by genuine friendship, to its President Mr. Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and to its valiant people. I also greet my dear friend, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, thanking him for his gracious invitation which provided us with the opportunity of this meeting in the ancient city of Lahore.

I convey to you sincere greetings from the Syrian Arab people which has vowed itself to the defence of our holy places and which has made, generation after generation, great sacrifices in lives and property in defence of Arab and Islamic heritage in our homeland. Our people today are courageously facing the enemy, concentrating their efforts and those of our brothers in the Arab Homeland on attaining the objectives, to achieve which, we fought the liberation war of last October.

*Gentlemen,*

We have come to the Second Islamic Summit Conference in the hope that the Conference will achieve the aims for which it has been convened. It is indeed a matter of great importance that the leaders of 700 million Muslims should meet at summit level with the aim of defending the holy places of Islam and of supporting the just Arab

cause. We have come to exchange opinions and to share in reaching a decision regarding the dangers threatening Jerusalem and other Islamic shrines in the Arab lands. We are fully confident that our meeting will result in a stand commensurate with the gravity of the situation and the immensity of the danger.

We have come with the hope that the Conference of Lahore will provide an opportunity for achieving results and decisions conducive to enhancing existing links between our states and for taking new positions which would enable us to serve our peoples and to realize their objectives in a better way.

The hopes we cherish in the Conference emanate from our firm belief.

*First*:

That Islam is the religion of truth, justice and equality among human beings, the religions representing the consummation of all divine faiths and the light that guides the great philosophies preaching justice to all human beings.

*Second*:

That there is a strong linkage and a unique identity between Islam as the religion of the majority of our people and Arab nationalism comprising citizens belonging to various faiths.

*Third* :

That Islam is a source of strength to all of us. In the noble sayings of the Prophet it is stated that Muslims should be strongly united like a well-built edifice.

*Fourth :*

That Islam is a force which unites but does not divide, and therefore points of agreement among the states represented in this Conference are immeasurably stronger than those of discord and disagreement.

In this connection we all recall the vicious attempts of colonialism to divide the ranks of the Muslims and to change Islam from a factor of strength into one of weakness and dismemberment. This makes it incumbent upon us to fight honestly, sincerely and with all our strength in order to protect our sacred religion against colonialist plots, and thereby to preserve its majestic greatness, so that it will continue to serve as a source of power and pride for all Muslims and an image of their progress in all fields.

Inasmuch as Islam addresses the intellect, it is opposed to regression. It encourages Muslims to exercise freedom of thought in worldly affairs and to absorb and follow up modern achievements. In fact Islamic culture was for long a source to which all nations of the world were indebted in all fields of knowledge.

Moreover, because Islam is the religion of equality, it is opposed to fanaticism, and militates against all its manifestations, especially that of racialism. Indeed, we consider our opposition to Zionist racialism an implementation of the principles of Islam. This applies equally to our opposition to "White" racialism which is practised in the southern countries of Africa. In fact, to the country in which we meet today belongs the credit of hastening to warn against the dangers of racialism in South Africa. To it also belongs the credit of participating in the struggle against Zionist racialism, whose evil we have experienced and from which we have suffered so greatly.

In fact, Zionism represents an evil to all humanity because it

falsifies divine creeds and exploits Judaism to serve an artificial chauvinistic phenomenon which has manifested itself in the ideology of settler colonialism which is based on the usurpation of Arab lands and territorial expansion in these lands. It has likewise acted as a destructive factor in several existing societies in many countries of the world. Its evils appear in its rejection of the national solidarity of these societies and its efforts to pulverise them. For by inciting integrated Jewish citizens to separate from their societies and to leave their native countries, it acts to detach component slices from each society. In these alienated slices a Nazi racist spirit is instilled and the alienated are crowded into a land to which they are not linked and where they are used to commit acts of aggression, murder and destruction.

If the tenets of Zionism are accepted, New York would lose one third of its population and the claims of the Nazis that Jews are incapable of being good citizens in the countries, in which they are born and whose benefits they enjoy, would be inevitably confirmed.

I would not be revealing something unknown if I assert that Zionism was an ally of Nazism and that Herzl himself had worked to promote anti-Semitism in order to ensure the success of Zionism. Nor would I be presenting a novel idea when I stress the fact that the solution, in which we believe, for what Zionism falsely claims to be the continued existence of the Jewish problem in Europe and elsewhere, i.e., Integration, — a solution which rests on firm scientific data and principles which Jews today practice and call for—is in fact the solution which Zionism fears and fights against and which it will fear more and oppose more, the more humanity increases its opposition to, and rejection of, all forms of racialism.

Thus Zionism is not an historical trend as claimed by its exponents. It is rather a phenomenon opposed to the logic of history. It is not at all a progressive trend as some intellectuals like to depict it but is definitely a reactionary movement, steeped in reaction and

representing adherence to the worst notions of which humanity is trying to free itself. Any prediction regarding future of Zionism by any intellectual concerned over sound thoughts and human principles is bound to lead to a result emphasizing the dark future and the sure collapse of the entire system of settler colonialism.

*Brothers,*

The fact that you are attending the Lahore Conference is a clear indication of your readiness to back the struggle of the Arab nation against Zionism, in support of justice and of the upholding of the humanity of man. To indicate this noble objective our people have engaged in a long struggle, which has been characterized, in all its phases, by a belief in God and the principles of our faith, by adherence to human ideals, by the offering of great sacrifices and by aiming at what is good, right and just. The Ramadhan War which the Arab people fought honourably and valiantly represents a new summit of this protracted struggle.

The October war, that great and valiant struggle of our people, which underlined facts and destroyed myths, is in one way or another continuing. It has not come to an end and will not come to an end unless we are able to stress the real elements that would constitute a strong basis for a just peace, whereupon complete Israeli withdrawal will be effected, and the Arab people of Palestine will be assured of their legitimate rights.

There is nothing to show that Israel has drawn the useful lessons of the October war; for almost every day we see and hear of acts, practices and declarations which reaffirm the determination of Zionism to proceed with its aggression against our land and people and to continue its deception of the peoples of the world and people in Israel itself.

Relevant resolutions of the United Nations are clear, and so is the UN Charter itself. There is nothing in these resolutions nor in the Charter to support Israeli logic in any way. There is nothing to justify the continued dispersal of the people of Palestine, nothing to justify the occupation of Jerusalem and the arbitrary authority exercised by Israel over Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, nothing to permit the occupation of Arab lands and the continuation of this occupation and nothing to justify converting myths such as that of the "secure borders" into facts.

When Israel failed to find a justification for occupation, Zionist genius invented the idea of "secure borders;" but it was a poor idea because it revealed Israeli arrogance towards the world, as well as Israel's adherence to aggression and her failure to adjust to the logic of development and history. Indeed, the whole world realizes today that geographical borders do not constitute secure borders in the present age even though it might have constituted such borders in the past.

The October War gave clear evidence on this subject. Heights and hills, and the water barrier could not stop the advance of armies, nor could they prevent long-range weapons on land and in the air from achieving objectives during the progress of the fighting.

Moreover, granting that the world were to accept the idea that geographical borders constitute secure borders to each country with the result that every country would seek security at the expense of other countries, then the world would become a jungle in which values are negated, and all principles and objectives attained through the blood, sweat and exertions of man in a long struggle covering all periods of history, would inevitably collapse.

*Gentlemen,*

A question here poses itself, namely: how can we reconcile

Israel's talk about peace, and its pretence that she is ready to accept it with attitudes such as those recently adopted by the Prime Minister of Israel when she regarded the Arab Syrian Golan Heights a part of Israel with the Israeli policy reflected in the allocation of millions of dollars for the establishment of new settlements in the occupied Arab territories. How can the talk about peace be serious when action reflects a continuation of aggression?

The Arab people have shown by all means that they want peace, provided it is based on justice. As against this, Israel has shown herself to be opposed to all serious attempts at establishing peace. She did that prior to her treacherous aggression in 1967 and pushed ahead with the policy of arrogance and obstruction to peace efforts throughout the six years which followed that aggression. And now, she is seizing every opportunity to resume obstruction and destruction. In fact, Israel's destructive manoeuvring is evident in the Geneva Peace Conference.

An objective examination of the Geneva Conference and the circumstances surrounding it, and in particular Israel's renewed obduracy in refusing to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and her allocation of budgets for building new settlements, explains why we are not very hopeful with regard to this Conference.

The Geneva Conference was not originally conceived to serve as a stage for Zionist manoeuvring. The idea of it was rather to serve as a place for serious work for peace. Such work requires that Israel should desist from its refusal to face the facts as well as to stop giving evasive replies to two definite questions: will she withdraw from the territories which she occupied in her aggression of 1967, and will she recognize the rights of the Arab people of Palestine? But for Israel to continue, with the support she receives, to play the role of the privileged party who is able to decide the area and extent of withdrawal, and to decide whether the people of Palestine have any

rights and the extent of these rights—all this is a proof that Israel is not desirous of peace and believes that its interest lies in continued expansion and aggression.

This is indeed the attitude of Israel; and she finds pretexts and excuses to justify her attitude, through pretexts that often constitute an insult to people's intelligence.

One of the excuses she is resorting to today relates to a subject concerning which she has created a great fuss throughout the world, that of Israeli prisoners of war in Syria. The subject of the prisoners of war is governed by definite rules and provisions of international law. First among these provisions is the principle that exchange of prisoners of war is effected only after all possibility of the renewal of armed clashes is ruled out. However, armed clashes continue to be a daily occurrence on the Syrian front because of Israel's continued violation of the ceasefire Resolution No. 338 which was adopted by the UN Security Council on October 22, 1973 and of resolutions reaffirming it. With regard to this subject, we call upon Israel to respect provisions of international law and the Geneva Conventions. Here we should mention that Israel has repeatedly repudiated her obligations under the Geneva Conventions to which she is a signatory party.

Examples of this repudiation are numerous:

1) Following the 1967 aggression, Israel notified the International Red Cross Committee that she had ceased to abide by provisions of the 4th Geneva Convention relating to the protection of civilians in the occupied territories in war time, on the grounds that existing circumstances did not permit the implementation of the provisions of the said Convention.

2) In its Resolution No. 10 passed on March 23, 1970, the UN

Human Rights Commission considered Israeli practices in the occupied territories and her grave violations of the 4th Geneva Convention as constituting war crimes and an affront to humanity. The said Resolution was adopted on the basis of investigations carried out by the Commission.

3) In March 1972, the Human Rights Commission reaffirmed its previous resolution, and condemned Israeli acts, including destruction of villages, setting up of settlements, forcing the inhabitants to collaborate with occupation forces, mass killings, looting of antiquities and cultural property, etc.

4) In the course of the October War, Syria replied positively to a call by the International Red Cross that all parties should observe the Geneva Conventions, which form an integral whole. But Israel gave a negative reply and continued its violations of the 3rd and 4th Conventions by shelling civilian targets, killing prisoners of war and subjecting them to torture, looting of houses and forcing civilians to leave their homes in the occupied territories.

5) During the international conference of Red Crescent and Red Cross Societies in Teheran in November, 1973, the Israeli delegate opposed a resolution calling on all parties to respect Geneva Conventions.

6) As recently as 11 February, 1974, the Human Rights Commission passed another resolution, again condemning Israeli violations of the Geneva Conventions.

In the light of all this, we challenge Israel to declare its adherence to these Conventions and its readiness to abide by their provisions.

Using the question of Israeli prisoners of war in Syria—contrary to provisions of international law and the Geneva Conventions—

as a pretext by which to obstruct the discussing of basic issues as provided for in UN Security Council resolutions, recalls to the minds of those acquainted with the history of Israel and Zionism, the numerous pretexts to which Israel and Zionism have resorted since the beginning of the present century in order to perpetuate its aggression against Arab territories and to achieve expansion at their expense.

Zionism, with the help of its influence and its propaganda machine, has maintained a selective memory through which she chooses subjects into which she injects a human tinge, as in the case of the question of the prisoners of war. But the world knows the true facts: that Zionism has established its State on brutality and massacres which have been condemned by the world community and by many followers of the Jewish faith. Of these massacres, suffice it to mention those of Deir Yasin and Kafr Qassem. The world also knows that the people of Palestine continue to live in tents as refugees, notwithstanding UN resolutions, clearly affirming their right to repatriation. The world also knows that more than 170,000 Syrian Arabs have been expelled by Israel from their villages and lands in the Golan Heights, in order to establish settlements for the Zionist invaders.

Considering that all peace initiatives to establish peace in our region are being wrecked by Israel's continuous aggression and all efforts for peace are being confined to the narrow scope defined by Israel's arrogance, and so long as Israel continues to receive the backing that encourages her to persist in that arrogance, the only option now open to our people is to continue the struggle to achieve their just objective through all available means.

*Brothers,*

Our conception of this conference has been, from the very start, that it is a meeting prompted by the need for more solidarity based on the humane principles of Islam. Therefore, a consensus to

support the right of the Arab people to their lands and holy places should be complete and should continue until aggression is terminated and rights are given to their owners.

The principles in which we believe and which are in harmony with science and the spirit of the age are principles for the upholding of which humanity has known the Arab people. These are: a belief in equity, love and charity, working for justice, aversion to fanaticism and a struggle against racialism. Our cause is a just one. We have met here to suggest what is right and just. Let our actions rise to the level of the justice of our cause. Let us be true to ourselves so that others will reciprocate with sincerity. We should be determined to vindicate our right in order to defeat the injustice of Zionism and imperialism.

It is significant that whereas this Conference is being held following the Ramadhan War which our people fought to achieve liberation, our first conference was held as a reaction to the crime of arson of the Al-Aqsa Mosque. This means that we meet today as makers of events whereas we had met in the past in reaction to the events. This should be a source of strength to us, marking a new stage of doubled efforts and more effective action.

In conclusion, I express my confidence and that of the Arab people that this conference will rise to the level of its great tasks.

I again extend thanks to Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and to Pakistan.

Al-Salamu Alaikum

## Speech by

### Col. Muammar El Qaddafi
### President of the Libyan Arab Republic

*In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, may peace rest upon all His Prophets and Messengers, prayer and peace be upon our Holy Prophet Muhammad the Seal of the Prophets and our Devoted Leader.*

It gives me great pleasure at the outset to hail our brothers, the Pakistani people, the resolute protectors of the abodes of Islam in these regions, the nation that has suffered and still suffers for holding aloft the banner of Islam with unflinching determination that it would never be lowered again. My country and I view this nation as one engaged in a historic campaign of Jihad, even before the demarcation of the political frontiers of Pakistan in 1947. The settlement of these frontiers was the outcome of a fierce struggle for the rescue of tens of millions of Muslims from the yoke of pagans; otherwise those millions would have been turned into an oppressed Muslim minority as is the case at present of a considerable number of our Muslim brothers throughout the East and the West for fate had deemed that they become an integral part of forces that are hostile to Islam in both strategy and faith.

I hail President Fazal Elahi for his dignified speech and on behalf of the Libyan Arab Republic I also greet my dear brother Zulfikar Ali Bhutto whose sincere and unrelenting efforts have made possible this Islamic gathering in this dear country. But for his profound faith and genuine understanding of the essence of Islam, not as a ritual or a priesthood, but as an overall social, political and economic revolution

that ultimately seeks to establish the civilization of man, but for all those we could never have been able to attend the present meeting.

I have gathered the impression that the invitation to this Conference was initially meant for the discussion of what is known as the problem of the Middle or Near East which we term as the Palestinian problem. I have also noticed that steps have been taken after convening this Conference to modify its overall picture. Indeed the picture is in some respects different from what it was when Pakistan took the initiative of sending out invitations to attend the Conference.

I should like to make it clear from the outset that the discrepancies that have crept in since we received invitations to attend this Conference will of necessity alter the shape of the issues to be examined. All of us are aware that Al-Quds (Jerusalem) is the first Qibla, that the Jews or Zionists have set Al-Aqsa on fire and have laid bare the Islamic shrines that surround it with the object of judaizing or destroying them. All these institutions are dear to the hearts of both Muslims and Christians alike. Since this Conference is purely Islamic, it is our duty to deal with the issue from the Islamic angle: Islam, remember, is not a theory or a philosophy or an ideology like Zionism, Communism, Capitalism or any other secular ideology. The Muslim outlook is at the same time divine and comprehensive and it has been adopted by the Libyan Arab Republic which views it as an Islamic pattern both revolutionary and everlasting, transcending both time or space. The issue is one of right and wrong. It is neither the cause of a city nor that of a place, it is merely a matter of right and wrong where wrong has ousted the right.

All the free people of this world should agree to stand on our side when the issue at stake is one of right and wrong, considering that the whole of mankind stands in support of right against wrong. If our cause, therefore, is a conflict between right and wrong there

should be a common front of those who stand in support of right against those who stand in support of wrong. The former are assuredly not confined to Muslims only, for we have on our side Christians and even right-thinking Jews. Indeed, some who are neither Muslims, Christians or Jews will stand on our side. Such is the issue which we want to put forth and explain and convince the whole world of its rightful nature. In submitting this view-point to the international community, this august Conference, which undoubtedly commands the respect of the whole world, will render a great service to our cause and will win supporters, even from outside the Islamic world. Zionism has also tried to portray its case, not as a Jewish case or as a national movement for Jews, but as a case of right and wrong. It has tried to persuade the world that Jews have right on their side and have been victims of injustice. Consequently they sought to secure a place to live in, so their argument goes, and that place is Palestine, at the expense of the Palestinian people. In such manner has Zionism won over supporters; and we have to admit that Zionism has misled public opinion in many parts of the world, particularly in Euorpe and America. That weapons and personnel are supplied on a large scale to Israel provides clear and practical evidence that Zionism has managed to persuade the world that it stands for right, and obviously the majority of people is not expected to stand against right.

In that Zionism's success was built on false premises. Let us build ours on true ones. Therefore, in the light of the present conjuncture, there is a tragedy in what you call the Middle East. A whole population was expelled by force from their homeland. Did they find a haven after being expelled? Were they given funds? Did they find another refuge? Did they find someone to take care of them? Were they provided with other homelands? They found nothing but poverty, suffering and misery, fell victims to disease and hunger. The United Nations offered them charity, some tents and a little assistance. This is a fact which became clear to the whole world. The Palestinian people are still living in miserable tents in Jordan,

Syria and other places. The minority of Palestinians who stayed in their homeland, Palestine, which was unjustly occupied are treated in a way which is worse than that of any set of people living under alien domination. By that I mean that religious or national minorities all over the world must be respected and treated on equal terms with the other groups. Today it is certain that the whole world rejects—at least theoretically—all sorts of discrimination based on religious or national considerations. Therefore, we can take advantage of this human theoretical world-wide view-point to support our cause. There is a persecuted group of people living under the yoke of occupation and another wretched group which was expelled by force from their territories. This is the situation. How could we eliminate this injustice? How could we make right triumph over wrong? What are the means, efforts and measures we must take in order to enable the right to overcome wrong? Such is the essence of our cause.

Within the framework of this comprehensive solution, the question of Jerusalem will be automatically settled. The question of giving one part to Muslims, another to Christians and the third to the Jews, and yet another one for tourism, can be settled. Such minor questions can be solved in the context of the basic issue, viz. right and wrong. If we face the world with that conception and receive no response, in other words, if the world approves that a people be evicted unjustly from their land, that some of them live in tents and some others suffer persecution and enslavement, then we are part of that world and have a say in the matter since we are great peoples who occupy strategic areas of the world and have human and material potentialities which can influence its destiny. The world then would become a jungle and it would be our first duty not to become victims to the predators of that jungle. We could ourselves be the predators in that jungle until God saves humanity and the jungle turns once again into an oasis for humanity. The enemy we now face has held conferences like ours, and put forward theories like those we are now putting forward. How far has the enemy succeeded? The enemy

succeeded to a very considerable extent because it held itself bound by the decisions taken at those conferences and insisted, generation after generation, on turning theory into effective practice. The enemy still acts in accordance with the decisions of its conferences held as far back as the days of Herzl. The enemy is still implementing, by practical means, its plans. What does the enemy do? The enemy brings together all the Jews who support Zionism and establishes for them a state at the cost of the Palestinian people who are the rightful owners of the land. This plan was drawn up by the enemy before 1948 and since then it proceeded to implement it on a clear, hence effective basis. Jewish immigrants continue to flow into Israel from all parts of the world. They do not belong to any one nationality or even any one continent. The Western world has been misled into believing that they were right and began to assist them with money and men. Whenever Israel appeals to the world for help pretending that it is exposed to danger, the world comes to its aid with money and weapons to such an extent that we are now confronted with new major problems. The enemy has, according to plan, taken Palestine and is beginning to expand its territories beyond Palestine and we are now in dire peril. The enemy is threatening Damascus and Cairo as well as Amman. It even has a plan for its aggression based on a map that can be seen by all of us. Unfortunately, we are sure that the enemy planning differs from ours, for the enemy draws up plans and puts them into action. As for us, in every new conference we forget the resolutions of the previous one. The enemy is now planning how to open the road to Tabook, Khaiber and Medina.

These are the enemy's designs for the future and it is definitely going to achieve them one day. Israelis propagate many fallacies. They claim that Beni Kuraizah were in Medina and Khaiber; that they have treasures, monuments and books there. Such claims indicate that whenever they would be in a position to do so they will not hesitate for one moment.

This was exactly their design as regards Jerusalem. They used

to claim that they have there the Wailing Wall and remains of Jewish Prophets Solomon and David. For our part, we used to banish such claims as too far-fetched. However, after the lapse of decades, when the enemy acquired the ability to reach the Wailing Wall, they actually occupied it and desecrated our holy shrines.

We did nothing but protest, demonstrate and wail. Time passed by and we forgot Jerusalem and what became of it. When we opened our eyes, it was too late, the enemy had already realized one of its designs. This process is continuous as one expansion leads to another.

If we are serious in confronting the problem of survival which is by no means a secondary one, we should view it as one of the conflicts between right and wrong. Muslim and Christian peoples alike are engaged in such a conflict. It is incumbent upon us to seek practical ways and means to equip ourselves in this conflict. Neither world public opinion, nor the United Nations resolutions, nor even those of the Security Council could sway Israel from its evil designs. Peoples the world over know that the enemy has flouted and disregarded these resolutions.

Neither appeals nor good offices could bring the enemy to forego its designs. The only effective method in this regard is that we should commit ourselves to the resolutions we adopt and build our own power to counter the machinations of the enemy. We are provided with clear-cut evidence in that respect. When the enemy wanted to establish its presence in the territories occupied in 1967, taking the Suez Canal, the Golan Heights and the Jordan River as political borders, it heeded nothing. The only positive action did not proceed from the Security Council Resolutions No. 242, 338 or 1000, or from any decision by the United Nations, the Red Crescent and the Red Cross, or from any demonstrations which took place anywhere; things began to change only after the power of Egyptian, Syrian and Palestinian fighters was felt. This is the only positive manner in which

we could counter the enemy. Enemy obduracy and occupation of the Eastern and Western banks of the Suez Canal ended as a result of the hard lesson it was taught at the hands of the Egyptians. Such a lesson forced the enemy to negotiate and drop its obstinacy. On the Syrian front, the enemy does not claim Damascus any longer, it only asks for a list of war prisoners. The reason is that the enemy had paid a heavy price when trying to gain more territory on the Syrian front—heavy losses in men and equipment forced it to drop its plans for advancing towards Damascus and to give up its previous excessive claims.

What made the enemy lose its senses and strike at civilian targets from 1965 up to the recent cease-fire? Why did it behave in such a manner? Similarly, when the Palestinian people have taken up arms and declared Jehad, our enemy has reacted in an unbalanced manner. Its acts were condemned by the entire world but it was a mere theoretical condemnation. However, the enemy retreated only when we used our own power.

I meant to stress this point because our previous conferences did not respect their recommendations. If our present Conference met with the same fate, then all the efforts exerted by Pakistan and other Islamic countries would be in vain. Foreign Ministers of Islamic countries met at Benghazi in Safar 1393. In the course of this Conference, a number of resolutions and recommendations were adopted—some of them were related to the issue we are supposed to discuss in the Summit Conference. And what was the result? Nothing happened. This is the difference between us and our enemy. Our enemy plans, decides and acts—whereas we meet, adopt resolutions, and then we forget all about them—Allah has called upon Muslims to act...... Action is the criterion—we are not called upon to sit and watch but work and toil.

For instance, Resolution No. 1 on the Palestinian issue, adopted

by the Conference of Foreign Ministers in Benghazi, in Safar 1393, calls upon member countries to open offices in Muslim States for volunteers who wish to participate in the struggle being waged for the liberation of the Holy Lands, and to open as well offices of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Has this resolution been implemented? Had it been, Muslims would have carried arms in the Ramadhan War, and we might have recovered Jerusalem which is the subject of our present deliberations. But this resolution was not implemented and we did not abide by our commitment, although we should have respected our pledges, as is prescribed by the Holy Quran. Even those who extended assistance did so when it was too late. Had such assistance arrived in time, the course of events would have changed.

The Holy Quran says, "But teach the message, for teaching benefits the believers." Are we now able to benefit from our experience and to implement the decisions we take? My country can only appeal to you to follow up the resolutions we adopt and to implement them and, in particular, the paragraph I have just referred to.

Another resolution was passed on our struggle with the enemy. In this resolution, the Conference called upon the Libyan Arab Republic, the Republic of Tunisia and the Republic of Senegal to exert their good offices with the French Government with a view to providing an atmosphere of freedom and democracy in French Somaliland and to grant it freedom and independence. However, the Arab Republic of Libya was the only country to call for the implementation of this resolution. In my first meeting with the President of France I raised this issue in compliance with the commitment taken, and out of respect for what Muslims had agreed upon in that Conference. In another resolution, the Conference called upon member countries to close their ranks against the countries which help the Zionist infiltration. Accordingly, we should have taken a firm and effective stand against the countries which allowed their citizens to volunteer

on the side of the Israelis. But, unfortunately, we only took meek stands against them. The Libyan Arab Republic is the only voice to be heard in the world raised against those countries which allowed their volunteers to fight on the side of the enemy. Did anyone of you abide by this pledge and this commitment? Are you ready now, as Muslim nations, to take firm and resolute stands with regard to these countries which support overtly our enemy?

In the same Conference, a resolution was adopted to the effect that the Conference sustained deep anxiety in connection with the acts of oppression and extermination to which the Muslims in South Philippines were exposed. The Conference demanded that the Government of Philippines discontinue those practices at once. A decision was taken to raise a fund through contribution by Muslim Governments to help the Muslims of South Philippines. A campaign for the collection of donations from Muslim nations was suggested. The Conference called for immediate measures with a view to securing the protection and safety of those Muslims and the repatriation of the refugees, and asked that an end be put to the systematic Christian emigration from the North. The Conference appealed to peace-loving nations, as well as to the religious and international associations concerned to use their good offices with the Government of Philippines to discontinue acts of violence against Muslims on its territories, and to safeguard their safety and the basic freedoms included in the Declaration on Human Rights and the Constitution of the Philippines itself. The Conference decided to send a delegation of Foreign Ministers to the Philippines to discuss the conditions of the Muslims with its Government. The delegation was composed of Foreign Ministers of Libyan Arab Republic, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Somalia. They went to the Philippines and the Conference was given proofs that the Filipino Muslims were being the subject of a campaign of expulsion and extermination. The delegation was asked to submit a report on its mission within three months of its return and the Governments of Indonesia and Malaysia were asked to use

their good offices in that respect within the framework of SEATO. Now, after nearly a year, the delegation of four Ministers has not yet submitted its report although it should have done so within three months. The Benghazi Conference decided to present aid to the Government of Pakistan for the repatriation and rehabilitation of the POWs, but I believe that no aid has been provided. The Conference asked the Secretary-General to implement its recommendations and to submit a report thereon to member States, but I did not receive such a report.

There were decisions concerning Guinea-Bissau and our attitude towards Portugal which wages a racial war against our African brothers. There was a decision concerning Eritrea. But none of these decisions has been implemented by Muslims.

I declare that my country has never failed in its duty and has always set the example. Libya has made known to the world that it stands with all its resources behind the Filipino Muslims. We reject the oppression of any man and we stand by all oppressed people everywhere, regardless of race or religion. We stand by the Filipino Muslims and we invite our Muslim brothers to abide with us in our stand so that we can put an end to this persecution.

As regards Guinea-Bissau, I regret to say that there were non-Muslim countries like Cuba and Korea that fought with its militants while there were no Muslims to fight in its ranks—with the exception of Guinea. However, the Libyans provided Guinea-Bissau with funds, arms and men.

As regards Eritrea, it is regrettable to note that instead of supporting its Jehad struggle and helping it liberate its territories, some States contributed to the division and fragmentation of this movement. All Muslim countries stood passively as regards UN Resolutions concerning the people of Eritrea and the Filipino Muslims

not to mention their passivity at the U.N. resolutions concerning the Palestinian people. To sum up, may the Almighty help us in the devising of our plan, in abiding by it and its implementation. We must give the world a logical concept, namely, that the issue is not only the problem of Jerusalem; neither is it that of a holy place, or of a specific area, but rather because of justice that had been superseded by injustice, so that we can secure the support of all those who wish to stand by justice. The most convincing proof of the soundness of such an approach is the presence of some of our Christian brothers amidst us in this Conference. It also goes to prove that justice has proponents. This is by no means a crusade. There is a delegation of Lebanese Christians who have come to this country in support of this Conference.

There is a final point to which the Chairman has referred—a matter of great importance to us all, and which is oft brought forth these days; namely, oil which has become a strategic weapon in our struggle against the enemy and has been used to promote our cause.

The Libyan Arab Republic in respect of oil, proposes and pledges itself to abide by the following:

That we divide the world into three groups:

1) the industrial countries which consume great quantities of oil,

2) the countries of the Third World to which we all belong, and

3) the Islamic countries.

As regards the industrial countries, we will sell them oil at the prices agreed upon by the oil-producing countries. We exclude those countries which provide us with technology and arms that we need to defend ourselves. Their number will definitely be limited.

Accordingly, the Libyan Arab Republic proposes and holds itself bound to make an exception of the industrial countries which give us effective aid in return for which they will enjoy privileges not to be given to other industrial countries with regard to oil and its prices. "And We have shown him the two paths." These countries have to choose either the path of friendship and co-operation with us for our mutual benefit or the other path, in which case they will have to bear the consequences, i.e. banning of oil shipments to them or else obtaining oil at a high cost with the consequent implications.

The second group of countries is that of the countries of the Third World. We, the Libyan Arab Republic, propose that oil-producing countries accord them preferential treatment, viz. better conditions than those granted to the above-mentioned, since countries of the Third World are developing countries, who need a greater amount of assistance than industrial countries, even if the latter are on friendly terms with us, as they are less vulnerable than the developing countries of the Third World.

The third group is that of the Islamic countries. My country proposes and holds itself bound to give this group of countries more favourable treatment than the two other groups. The Muslim world constitutes one single entity, any harm done to one part affects the whole. Each of our Muslim countries is part of the whole. The cause of the Islamic world is ours. I make this proposal because I feel that the fuel crisis is hitting hard the countries of the Third World and has had ill effects on the economies of our Muslim brothers and friends of the Third World, particularly African countries which have adopted a noble and sincere stand in favour of the Arab countries during the Ramadhan War. They sacrificed some of their interests for the sake of supporting us.

I know that the fuel crisis is getting increasingly hard to face in the industrial world. However, the industrial world has to make a

choice: either our friendship or that of our enemy. If it opts for the friendship of our enemy, it has to pay for it. If it opts for our friendship it should be rewarded for it. I hope our Conference will adopt, as regards this basic issue, a binding pledge or covenant not to be violated by any of us. I hope we shall discard the fallacies propagated by the enemy against us.

The world should be informed through this Conference of what we are doing towards the people of Palestine. The United Nations and the whole world have to see the refugee camps where Palestinians live in, suffering from illness and poverty. What is the solution? Should there be no peaceful solution, and should we have to resort ultimately to arms? Muslim countries should send their volunteers and arms and put all their potentialities at their disposal in order to face the enemy, since the enemy acts likewise. I have chosen to put this issue, from the Islamic view-point, within the context of the struggle between right and wrong, a struggle within which the problem of Jerusalem and other similar problems can be solved, if we have amongst us people who are not ready to relinquish Jerusalem. However, this cannot be done by prayers alone, but through the force of arms. The enemy seized Jerusalem by the force of arms. If you really want to restore Jerusalem you should carry arms and go to Jerusalem because Jews from all parts of the world have volunteered to take over and occupy Jerusalem.

Finally, I wish to hail Pakistan and her great people who are also firmly struggling so that the banner of Islam remains aloft. We are called upon to support our brothers who are fighting in Palestine and around it. We are required to support our Muslim brothers in Asia. We should also back Pakistan which has been the target of hostile manoeuvres, and which has been facing many problems created by aggressions. The struggle between Islam and its enemies in this area is an inevitable and everlasting one. It will continue from one generation to another. Islam must emerge victorious. The struggle

between us and Zionism or Judaism in Palestine is historic and inevitable. We must perforce gain the upper hand in this struggle. I would like to remind the countries that may think that the problem has been solved, to reconsider their position. They should be sure that this is only the beginning and not the end.

I wish to convey my congratualtions to the Conference and to its new members, foremost among whom is Gabon, whose President has been recently converted to Islam realizing that it is the true religion. Furthermore, I wish to extend my congratulations to Cameroon, Upper Volta, Uganda, Guinea-Bissau and Gambia who have also been admitted as new members.

Thank you all.

God's peace and blessings be upon you.



*Mr. Omar Sakkaf, Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister was welcomed at Lahore airport by Pakistan's Federal Minister Mr. Khurshid Hasan Meer.*



*Mr. Abdul Hamid Adjali, head of the Political Affairs Division in Algerian Foreign Ministry was welcomed at Lahore airport by Mr. Aziz Ahmad, Pakistan's Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs.*



*The Foreign Minister of Kuwait, Sheikh Sabah Al Ahmed Al Jaber and the Foreign Minister of Bahrain, Sheikh Mohammed Bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa were received by Mr. Aziz Ahmad at Lahore airport.*



*Mr. Abdul Halim Khaddam, Syrian Foreign Minister is surrounded by newsmen at Lahore airport.*

*Mr. Hasan Al Tohamy, Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference being welcomed by Mr. Aziz Ahmad, Pakistan's Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs at Lahore airport.*





*Dr. Abdel Aziz Kemal, Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister (centre) was welcomed by Mr. Aziz Ahmad on arrival at Lahore airport.*

*Mr. Fouad Naffeh, the Lebanese Foreign Minister being welcomed at Lahore airport by Dr. Abdul Khaliq, Punjab Minister for Irrigation and Power.*





Mr. Ismael Erez Secretary-General of the Turkish Foreign Office and Mr. El Konighi Okumba, Gabon Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Mr. Erdem Erner, Ambassador of Turkey at the Lahore airport.

Mr. Abdul Monem Al-Rifai, Special Envoy of King Hussein of Jordan at Lahore airport.





*Mr. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, leader of the Afghan Delegation talks to newsmen at Lahore airport.*



*Mr. Abu Zaid Omer Dorda, Libyan Minister for Information and Culture was received at Lahore airport by Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Pakistan's Minister of State for Defence and foreign Affairs.*

*Mr. Fadl Obeid, Under Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sudan, at Lahore airport.*



## Speech by

### Mr. Mohammed Anwar El Sadat
### President of the Arab Republic of Egypt

*In the name of God,*
*Mr. Chairman, Your Majesties, Royal Highnesses, Excellencies,*

*Dear Brothers,*

I feel, from the outset, duty-bound to note with pride the fraternal, courageous and daring stand taken by Premiers Bhutto and Mujibur Rahman.

We, as brothers in Islam, feel proud of such a stand. It is a source of pride for both of them, to their peoples and to us all since it was taken during our assembly.

I shall be brief, as our brother President Hafez Al Assad dwelt at length yesterday on the events in our region. He expounded and highlighted these events to you all. However, I should like to add that when we met in Rabat in 1969 we had been suffering at that time from anguish and bitterness, even though we were equipping ourselves for the battle of destiny. At that time I said before the Conference that we were preparing for such a day. It came on the Tenth of Ramadhan. It was a battle which Egyptian and Syrian forces started together. History will record the Ramadhan War with pride and glory. You will for ever remember with Egypt and Syria that the war of the Tenth of Ramadhan was one of the fiercest and most glorious in history. It is not simply the battle of the three thousand tanks that

lasted seventeen days. It is the epic of the restitution of rights, the regaining of self-dignity, the nemesis of conceit, the taking up of a challenge and the rejection of backwardness, a battle hailed the world over as a landmark in history. The world will never relapse to the conditions that were prevailing before the Tenth of Ramadan whether in the military or economic fields. Everything must and has already started to change. The balance of power, the art of warfare, the principles of economy, the distribution of energy and capital should all be revised anew following the Tenth of Ramadan War in which all of us, and not only Egypt and Syria, take pride.

Because of all this I would like to speak of the future and I have promised to be brief. Now, before that war, Africa had adopted a magnificent attitude at the annual meeting of May 25, 1973. In Algeria the non-aligned nations soon followed. The Security Council took a decision in our favour with the overwhelming majority of 14 to one votes, the one vote being that of the U.S.A. The Arab countries were unanimous in their strong stand and solidarity. Today, as I speak of the future I submit one suggestion to this Conference: as a Muslim group representing over 600 million people spread the world over, we should display a stand that shall in no way be inferior to that of Africa, nor of the non-alignment stand or the resolution adopted unanimously in favour of the Arabs in the Security Council with an overwhelming majority of 14 States out of 15, with the exception of only one State, the U.S.A.

We have no other requests to make, except that the support of 600 million Muslims should be highly explicit and resounding for the whole world to hear.

I still have a final word which I have to say....After the meeting of our brothers Bhutto and Mujibur Rehman, I should like to state here—in order to do justice to the Pakistan's stand—that 19 years ago when we began to think of the Islamic Conference I

met His Majesty King Feisal in Riadh in 1955 and then, I flew from Riadh to Pakistan and met the late Ghulam Mohammad and then the three of us began to draw up a project for an Islamic Conference. This was followed by a succession of events. From that moment onwards, until the present day, Pakistan has invariably and firmly supported every Islamic cause, as it is doing, also constantly and firmly in respect of Arab rights. By that I mean that this happened when Pakistan included both East and West Pakistan. Likewise the same is true when it became Pakistan and Bangladesh. The stand was one and the same: unflinching support for every Islamic cause, enthusiastic support for every Arab cause. I believe that we all share without any exception of the same opinion that these wonderful arrangements for this Conference and that all that Pakistan has done is worthy of our highest praise and gratitude. The work of this Conference was crowned on this soil with the meeting of two brothers, Bhutto and Mujibur Rahman, hence the reason for our joy for we are their brothers—and we wish them all happiness and all success, for Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Thank you.

## Speech of

### His Beatitude Muawad Elias IV
### Patriarch of Antioch and All Orient

*Mr. Chairman,*

What can there be that is more enchanting than the meeting of brethren, when God Almighty is their purpose?

*Your Majesties, Excellencies,*

It is indeed a great source of joy for our delegation to convey to your conference this message of brotherly love, and our prayers for your success.

Is not Jerusalem the goal of this long journey on the path to liberty which we are all engaged in together?

Are we not, Muslims and Christians alike, dedicated to Jerusalem, in hope, determination and sacrifice?

How can we forget thee Jerusalem, when thou art Humanity's "Meraj" to God and the symbol of the spiritual values that descended upon us from His holy inspiration?

In thee, O Jerusalem, Muslims and Christians, in their common yearning for eternal peace, find, each according to his religion, their sacred community in their obedience to God and their concern for humanity.

To your esteemed Conference, we have come from the Ancient Churches of the East, prompted by the spirit of friendship and amity which has bound us to you, generation after generation. For God's mercy and benevolence have made it such that there has developed in our homeland more than a common humanity: a oneness that cannot be destroyed. Hence, we are conscious that it is our destiny to convey to the Christian world abroad, the message of Palestine to kindle its fire wherever it is fading, voicing this message longest where sometimes people deafen their ears or close their eyes to its reality and truthfulness.

Whence the great honour that we have asked for, to speak from the rostrum of this very great conference, the Islamic Summit to the Christians of the world, and to the Muslims as well, proclaiming that Jerusalem is their pride and glory and that, once delivered by rightful struggle, this Holy City of God will be the source of the virtues of the new man who will, in our homelands, stand against the injustices from which we have all suffered.

You will allow me at this junction to salute His Highness Pope Paul VI for his constant concern about Jerusalem, his indefatigable struggle against its judaization, and his insistence on its remaining the city of faith and peace. For then will Jerusalem appear again, in its glorious light, giving a new life to the oppressed who through their sufferings, have dreamt of it as the unique symbol of their perfection and ideals.

Now we say how much we are all nostalgic of this particular beauty and nobility of Jerusalem, that emanated from a holiness that no other city has ever had, and which had been in the blessed custody of its Arab inhabitants, now subjected to tyranny, and many of whom have been forced to emigrate from their most beloved city.

But let the enemy know: the Arabs are still alive, a nation determined to fight for its right to return to Jerusalem. This—and

no other—is the sacred right to return, for then will the Arabs have recovered their spiritual home, saved their history. And then, and then only, will they be true to their civilization, able to fulfil their mission to mankind.

The continuity of the tradition which the Palestinians have kept as a cherished trust is an imperative call. A call for a Jerusalem delivered that will be again the home of its people. To us, the preservation of stones, be they sacred temples, cannot be more important than the live presence of peoples. For the presence of God is where people live in constant devotion.

Such is, in our understanding, the Palestinian character of Jerusalem, a human image both national and universal, a call upon all believers to meet in the free and tolerant pursuit of truth.

To us in particular, the significance of the Holy Places has acquired its latitude by the fact that through two thousand years, the temples have derived the substance of their life from the very life of the believers who constitute the human context of the temples.

It is in this spirit that we understand the historic encounter, so rich in noble meanings, between the Caliph Omar and the Patriarch of Jerusalem: an encounter in friendship and mutual respect.

Today, in our common struggle, the encounter between Muslims and Christians has become a creative unity, within the framework of Arabism.

For we are both threatened by Zionist and by racist and militaristic persecution of our people; a movement that has reversed the values that we have cherished in the Arab East.

Such is the arrogance of Zionism that it has not hesitated to egress the historical features of the City of God, thus attempting to

destroy our common heritage, which had filled our lives with joy and inspiration.

In conclusion, let this be our common prayer: that we should all want a Jerusalem delivered that will be again a sanctuary of spirituality. There shall we defend the respect of man whilst yearning for God. There shall we lay the foundations of a new civilization for all the peoples of the world, a civilization based not on exploitation but on peace and justice which alone can assure a fruitful and brotherly meeting of nations.

*Mr. Chairman ,*

It is with the greatest pleasure that I offer on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf our sincere congratulations to the delegations of Cameroon, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Uganda and Upper Volta on their admission as members of our Organisation. We are also happy with the participation of Iraq for the first time as observer at this historic conference. I bid them a warm welcome and we are happy to have them with us. Their presence here is a clear indication of the growing strength and unity of our Muslim brotherhood.

Another unforgettable event which warms all our hearts is the reconciliation between Pakistan and Bangladesh. Pakistan and Bangladesh were one people and one country, but were separated by accident of history. However, thanks to the untiring efforts of this Conference both the Governments of Pakistan and Bangladesh have forged a new bond of relationship between them. We all cannot but admire the magnanimity and a deep sense of understanding and accommodation shown by you, Mr. Chairman, as leader of Pakistan, and by His Excellency Prime Minister Shaikh Mujibur Rahman. May this historic event be the beginning of a new era of close and cordial relations between your two countries as brother nations within the Muslim world.

Address by

## Mr. Abdul Monem Al-Rifai
## Head of the Jordanian Delegation

*In the name of Allah the merciful the compassionate*

*Peace and Prayers be upon His great messenger.*

*Mr. Chairman, Majesties, Excellencies and Highnesses.*

*Dear Brothers,*

His Majesty King Hussien ben Talal would have liked to participate in this great Islamic Conference. Indeed, His Majesty was very keen to visit this pure land of Pakistan and meet with his brothers, the leaders of Muslim countries and the heads of their delegations to discuss with them matters of common interest and all aspects of co-operation. However, His Majesty, was not able to satisfy his cherished wish. I have honour and privilege to convey His Majesty's fraternal greetings to you all, to the brotherly country of Pakistan, her genuine Muslim people, to the President of the Republic and to Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who has played a key role in convening this great historic Conference. It is the honour of the Jordanian delegation to pay tribute to His Majesty King Faisal Ben Abdul Aziz who co-sponsored the idea of holding this Summit.

*Mr. Chairman,*

With God's help and guidance, the Summit has augured well for the reconciliation between two Islamic countries. On its very first

day, the brotherly Pakistani Government took a very wise and noble decision, namely, the recognition of the brotherly Muslim country of Bangladesh. We welcome the Bangladesh delegation headed by His Excellency Mujibur Rahman to the Conference, among his family and brothers. May God bless these steps and make of them a source of pride and grandeur for Muslims anywhere.

The Jordanian delegation would also like to welcome the six brotherly African countries which have newly acceded to the membership of our Conference.

This great Conference encompasses the Islamic countries of two continents and represents many peoples unified by one religion, one Book and one direction. These countries possess enormous wealth, far-flung territories and immense manpower. They have contributed towards the making of history and the spreading of peace and righteousness on earth. This Conference is being held today in support of a part of the Islamic world, namely, the Arab homeland, which has been the victim of armed Israeli aggression.

This Conference is being held at a time when the will of the Arab nation has asserted itself victoriously in the battlefield, paving the way for a just peace. Thanks to this strong will, it has been possible to break the Middle East deadlock and draw the attention of Big Powers to the necessity of shouldering their responsibilities vis-a-vis this situation. We, as an Islamic nation, whose religion calls upon it to fight for the sake of the right; and which believes so firmly in peace, so much so that it uses its name as a solution and ends prayers with it; and makes of it one of God's attributes, shoulder a heavy responsibility when the right falls victim to aggression and when the pillars of peace crumble down.

This responsibility becomes greater and heavier, when the Islamic nation itself or one of its parts falls victim to aggression. The armed Israeli aggression against the Arab homeland and the Zionist

invasion of the Arab region in the Middle East, are a case in point. In fact this great Conference has been held to discuss this situation and to find effective means for dealing with it.

When we speak about Israeli aggression, we do not think of it only in terms of a foreign armed aggression against peaceful peoples living in their own countries or against the Palestinian people whose land and rights have been usurped. Nor do we consider this aggression as nothing but the usurping of a whole country by force of arms, regardless of the basic principles ruling international relations and man's life, an aggression in defiance of the resolutions adopted by the international organization. As a matter of fact this flagrant aggression is directed against civilization and history, against our way of life, our future and our very existence. It is a tide sweeping in its way all the cultural, spiritual and material values we have established on our earth.

If the Israeli aggression on the Arab homeland is reinforced by world Zionism and supported by great powers, it is only natural that the Islamic world should support the struggle of Arab nations in their efforts to repel aggression for the defence of the sanctity of their lands. Thus the struggle of the Arab nations will acquire international dimensions. It will become a struggle between the right and the wrong, between justice and injustice, between aggression and peace.

It goes without saying that the Islamic world's stand in favour of the Arab world in its bitter struggle, as manifested by this great Conference will enhance and strengthen the Arab positions, thus ensuring its ultimate success. It is quite evident that Israel intends still to retain the land it has occupied. It is bent on disregarding the legitimate Arab rights. It aspires at grabbing big concessions in the Arab region. This Zionist state entertains expansionist designs and is fully determined to replace a genuine civilization with a Western one since, our struggle with Israel is hard and long.

Consequently, Israel is trying to create a new fait accompli in the occupied Arab territories through the prolongation of its occupation. In due time it will escalate its aggression, trying once more to create a new fait accompli exactly as it has been with the territories it has occupied before 1967. In this connection Israel tends to magnify subsidiary issues in a bid to camouflage its crimes and big challenges.

Undesirably, the resolutions of this Conference will have a great impact on the international community because it represents a world which has its characteristics, values and strength. However, the impact of these resolutions will be greater and stronger when they become a policy to be pursued by the governments represented here, until Israeli aggression of Arab territories including Jerusalem, the most precious pearl of our lands, is fully liquidated, and until the national and legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine are completely restored.

Our nation together with brothers and friends has recently utilized some effective weapons to repel aggression and to open the road to peace. There was the glorious and courageous war of Ramadhan which has changed the balance of military, political and economic power in our region. There was also the effective use of the oil weapon which has shaken the whole world. Africa and all free nations have supported us.

In our long political battle, we have to count on these forces and these weapons so as to accelerate our march towards peace and the realizations of our just objectives.

The Jordanian delegation would like to stress this point in particular because the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is fully aware of the serious difficulties it will face in securing Israeli withdrawal from the West bank and Jerusalem since Israel insists on merging these two areas in particular, and means to keep permanently whatever parts she would annex.

In this connection, my government feels that maximum co-ordination and co-operation as well as strict adherence among the Arab parties directly concerned, are among the most important pre-requisites for securing total withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories.

The delegation of Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan would like to emphasize that the idea behind dealing with the Jerusalem problem in a separate resolution is to put this highly important issue in its right perspective of priority and importance. However, the principle of total Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories occupied in June 1967, naturally applies to the City of Jerusalem.

The Jordanian delegation declares on behalf of the Jordanian Government that any peaceful settlement with Israel that does not restore Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem, is totally rejected.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan emphasizes that the full restoration of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty is one of the main issues that will determine the establishment of peace in the area.

The Middle East conflict is first and foremost a conflict between the aggressor and the victims of aggression, between the aliens and the natives, between the usurper and the usurped. Therefore, we believe that the Arab people of Palestine should be party to any just settlement in the Middle East since the Palestinian cause is at the root of the conflict. The Palestinian people are fully entitled to defend their rights and their cause in any international forum.

*Mr. Chairman, Majesties, Excellencies, Highnesses,*

The Islamic world, with all its vast territories, could be united into one effective force that smoothly withstands all disputes and differences that may arise among brotherly countries. This cohesive,

formidable force could be channelled towards the realization of positive ends ensuring the well-being and progress of humanity and serving the interests and causes of the Muslim peoples.

May God guide us on the path of righteousness. God's peace and blessings be upon you.

**Speech by**

**Mr. Abbas Ali Khalatbari**
**Foreign Minister of Iran**

*Mr. Chairman,*

It is a great honour to me to convey to you the sincere congratulations of the Iranian delegation for your election by unanimity as Chairman of this Conference.

I am also anxious to express to the Government and people of Pakistan on behalf of my delegation as well as in my own name, our gratitude and thankfulness for the brotherly welcome and warm hospitality we had in this beautiful city of Lahore which has a glorious historic past.

I wish, in this connection, to pay homage to your courage and sagacity which always guided your efforts.

I wish to express our cordial welcome to the new members of this Islamic family, particularly Bangladesh whose recognition by you has been announced today.

*Mr. Chairman,*

In the name of the Shahinshah, the Government and the people of Iran—as well as in my own name, the Iranian delegation presents its fraternal greetings to the illustrious heads of state and government and the representatives of the Islamic countries meeting in this august assembly.

This Second Summit reminds us of the first one held in Rabat where the foundations of our Islamic Conference were laid down. I am anxious to recall that the Shahinshah, my august sovereign, was, among other brother leaders of Islamic countries, one of the inspirators of this idea, and that Iran was among the promoters and founders of the Islamic Conference to which we will be faithfully and permanently attached.

*Mr. Chairman,*

The Muslim world, which extends from the Atlantic Ocean to the sea of China, comprises a group of countries which, despite differences of language, climate, culture, population, and even nature of problems faced by them, are all united in the sacred faith of Islam which teaches them solidarity, fraternity, reconciliation and mutual co-operation.

It is essential for the future of our union as well as our future successes, to know each other better, to understand each other better, to take into account the realities of our contemporary world and to respect the fundamental principles of our Charter signed by a large number of us.

It is essential to avoid every thing that may counteract these principles or divide us, or sow discord and distrust among us. It is with this spirit that we have come here and that Iran participates in the present conference whose work, she hopes, will proceed, blessed by God, under signs of fraternity and solidarity.

*Mr. Chairman,*

We meet here because of the deep anxiety felt by all of us for the difficulties confronted by our Arab brothers. Iran has been particularly anxious in this regard.

When the war of Ramadhan broke out, we took more strongly than ever before the side of our Arab brothers. The exemplary courage of Arab armies during the war, justly called the war of destiny, which was launched for the liberation of their occupied territories and the restoration of their legitimate rights, aroused our deep admiration.

The courage and devotion of the valiant Arab armies called the attention of the whole world to their just cause.

The Shahinshah of Iran, my august sovereign, was one of the Muslim heads of state to condemn, during the June war of 1967, the Israeli aggression and the acquisition by force of others' territories. Iran has since stuck to this attitude of principle. This is why Iran has declared here as well as in all international forums, that the basis of any settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict should be the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab occupied territories in conformity with resolution 242 of 22 November 1967 of the Security Council. This view is shared by an overwhelming majority of U.N. members which gave its support to the resolution of 13 December 1971 of the General Assembly of which Iran was a co-author. Recently Iran has become, in the 30th session of the Commission on Human Rights (New York), a co-author of a resolution condemning the violations of human rights and the fundamental freedoms by Israeli forces in Arab occupied lands.

Iran has always shown her great concern for the inability of the United Nations to secure the respect of the numerous resolutions adopted by its various organs against Israel, particularly the aforementioned resolution 242 of the Security Council.

With respect to Jerusalem, as every Muslim, we cherish and take to heart this holy city, the second holiest place held in reverence by the faithful and the city dear to the three main theist religions of the world. In this connection our stand is clear. The Imperial Govern-

ment of Iran stands against any unilateral modification of the juridical status of the city of Jerusalem.

In this regard my delegation is anxious to recall that Iran has supported the U.N. resolutions concerning the protection of this city, with particular reference to the resolutions of the Security Council which condemned all actions aimed at changing the structure of this city and its demography.

We come now to another problem which can be considered the origin of the Middle East conflict, namely that of the rights of the Palestinians.

It is with a broken heart that we, Iranians, like all other Muslims, are witnesses to the tribulations and suffering of that people ousted from its land and left a prey to moral despair. The incapacity of the international community to find a just solution to this problem grieves and disturbs us.

Iran spared no effort to support and defend the Palestinian cause since the partition of Palestine in 1947. We have given modest material and moral aid to the Palestinian refugees and have always voted in favour of all the UN resolutions concerning the destiny of the refugees and have often been among the co-authors of those resolutions.

The Iranian Government considers that a real and lasting peace in the Middle East is inconceivable as long as the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are not respected.

The successes already achieved in the first stage of negotiations at the Geneva Conference are promising. They give us the hope that this conference will open up new perspectives for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The Iranian delegation estimates that it is our duty, all of us, to give support to Arab countries which have shown themselves courageous in the battlefield and which now show realism in the peace negotiations.

Muslim countries should congratulate our Arab brothers for this victory which constitutes an important step towards the final and long awaited solution, that is to say the total restoration of their occupied territories and their legitimate national right.

The Islamic solidarity, in our view, must play a great role in favour of our Arab brother countries and their peoples. We should spare no effort to aid, encourage and reinforce them until they achieve peace and justice.

*Mr. Chairman*,

With reference to the declaration made by H.E. the Prime Minister of Pakistan and other distinguished speakers in the meeting of yesterday, concerning the effect of the price increase of petroleum, I am anxious to underline the fact that Iran has been among the first countries to take into consideration the difficulties emanating from this situation and to think of finding a remedy for them.

The Iranian Government has declared its intention to put in the near future at the disposal of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund a minimum sum of a million dollars, to aid developing countries.

Lastly, Mr. Chairman, my delegation wishes that this Conference succeeds in rendering Muslim countries more united and more jointly and separately liable and that these countries, with the help of mutual understanding, strive to increase their co-operation in economic and social development and strengthen their relations in all fields so that they may attain the level of the world of modern technology.

This is a realistic attitude which we must hold to, and it is the path of mutual co-operation and Islamic fraternity which we must opt for, and not the path which leads to division and discord, so that our ranks get closer and closer every day.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

## Speech of

### Mr. Takieddin Solh
### Prime Minister of Lebanon

*Mr. Chairman, Your Majesties and Excellencies, Gentlemen,*

I congratulate your august Conference for electing as its Chairman the illustrious Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. In the name of Lebanon I extend a brotherly salutation to Pakistan. Fraternity has bound us with this nation that has preserved across the ages its individuality and the tenets of its ancient civilization. It has always adhered to the great principles and human values with which Islam has lit the past of humanity.

I hail the President of Pakistan, His Excellency Chaudhry Fazal Elahi. We listened yesterday to his speech which savours from the spirit of fortitude reminiscent in my memory of the images of the heroes I met when I visited Pakistan in 1947, when they were extricating with hardship the independence of their country and laying the foundations of the new State, led by the Falcon of Islam, the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

The Islamic zeal displayed in the Jihad of those founding fathers has elevated this land to the visionary horizons of the spiritual and mental concepts of the poet-philosopher, the inspired Muslim reformer, Muhammad Iqbal, a landmark in the modern Islamic renaissance.

History records that even before the birth of Pakistan, those pioneers of Islamic renaissance in this part of the world devoted

themselves to serve Islam and raise high its banner everywhere, and that, while they were engaged in laying the foundations of this great State, they were the most vehement supporters of the Arab liberation movements and independence revolutions, in particular the successive Palestinian movements in the Holy Lands. They offered the cause not only their moral and material support but their blood and souls.

Our Conference has begun with a gesture of fraternity that springs from adherence to the principle of solidarity which is so vital to the work of the Conference and the spirit of Islam. The gesture is the recognition by Pakistan of Bangladesh and the participation of Bangladesh in this Conference.

The Arab world has gone through a rich profound experience in the last few months, one in which its solidarity and strength exceeded all calculations. The solidarity of the members of this Conference be transformed into great material and moral forces, into the expression of the cherished values of our heritage and civilization. It must be positive solidarity that seeks to restitute the right, as the banner to which humanity rallies. The presence among us today of His Reverence the Patriarch of Antioch, Elias IV, is a noble symbol of this concept of solidarity.

The Patriarchs of the Orient have declared the word of truth in support of the people of Palestine in the Second Vatican Convention. We now behold every day a change in our favour in the attitude of the Christian world. This has been authentically expressed in the declarations of support by Latin American States.

It is not only the right path but the spirit and outlook of Islam towards heavenly religions that brings together the Muslim and the Christian worlds. The history of Islam in the Holy Lands makes the believers of all religions feel that Al-Quds will be safe in Arab hands.

The President of the Lebanese Republic said about the issue of Al-Quds: "There are three heavenly religions: one of them does not recognise the other two; the other recognizes one and respects one; the third recognizes the other two and respects them." Whose hands, then, should hold the Holy Lands?

I speak in this Conference not only in the name of the Lebanese Muslims but in the name of the whole Lebanese nation, Muslims and Christians alike. I do so in the interest of enhancing solidarity with brotherly States with which we share noble spiritual values and the glorious history of civilization.

The policy of judaizing Al-Quds and the land of Palestine followed by Israel aims at obliterating its Islamic and Christian landmarks alike. We condemn this aggression committed against our shrines and flouting the wills of our nations. We do so in defence of our spiritual and historical values which constitute the cornerstone of our heritage, and to preserve the values of civilization which is common to all peoples.

*Gentlemen*,

We call for building of international relations on high spiritual values because we see in the tragedy of the Palestinian people an instance of the moral decadence and disregard of criteria of justice and right in the inter-relationships of peoples.

The time when our Palestinian brothers were treated as refugees is over. The world looks at their cause as one of a historic nation with a wealth of national aspirations and hopes and above all a nation that has the right to live a decent honourable life. Peace and security in the Middle East can never be preserved without the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people for self-determination and without the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied territory including Al-Quds.

Al-Quds (Jerusalem) cannot be left under Israeli control. If the aggressor continues to hold the city, war will never cease to threaten the region.

To achieve real peace it is not sufficient to put an end to war, but rather to eliminate the causes of war.

The Ramadhan War—in which our nation has achieved a great victory and which recalled to the memory of the world the true image of the Arabs which has been obliterated and unjustly distorted for a long time. This war enabled the world to perceive our Arab nation in its true dimensions. The energy crisis which shook the whole world was one of the most important results of this war. Utilizing their control over oil resources, the Arabs did not intend to take revenge against anyone, nor to impede progress anywhere in the world. They only intended to appeal to the conscience of the world and to let the world be fully aware of the cause of Arabs which oppression and disregard obliterated and distorted for a very long time. Good relations between oil-producing and oil-consuming countries must be based on the foundations of equality, co-operation, common interests and mutual respect.

From our point of view, we cannot dissociate the oil crisis from the general concept of the relations between the raw material producing states of the Third World of which the Islamic countries constitute an integral part and the rich industrial countries. It became imperative that this topic be considered as one and indivisible whole, in order to arrive at a just solution. In this respect we agree with President Houari Boumedienne's initiative to call upon the United Nations to consider this issue.

Our countries reject being looked upon merely as raw material producing countries or just commercial markets for industrialised goods. Our countries must be looked upon as countries which have

their distinguished cultural heritage, national aspirations, and their right to participate at par with other countries in discussing all international causes which interest their peoples and lead to the promotion of the standards of living, and the safeguarding of a secure future for mankind and the enrichment of civilisation. For there would be no peace or security in a world in which some countries enjoy abundance whereas others suffer under the yoke of poverty and destitution.

**Speech by**

## Dr. Adam Malik
## Foreign Minister of Indonesia

*Bismillah Hir Rahman Nir Rahim,*

*Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates,*

On behalf of the Delegation of the Republic of Indonesia, allow me first to extend my sentiments of gratitude and high appreciation to you, Sir, and through you to the Government and people of Pakistan for the cordial and brotherly reception accorded us in this beautiful and historic city of Lahore.

Permit me also to join previous speakers in offering you my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of this historic Islamic Summit. There is no doubt that under your able guidance, this Conference will attain the objectives for which it was convened and to which we all aspire.

It is also appropriate for me to express, on behalf of my delegation, our deep appreciation for the excellent preparations and efficient arrangements that have been made by the organising committee.

As the venue of this Second Islamic Summit, the choice of Lahore is also worthy of our praise. Lahore, being one of the earliest seats of Islam, is also the city of Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh, the great saint, and of Allama Iqbal, the great poet-philosopher of the East and the visionary of Pakistan.

*Mr. Chairman,*

It is my duty, first of all, to convey to you and to all assembled Heads of State and Government the fraternal greetings and best wishes of my Head of State, President Soeharto. Much as he wanted himself to attend this historic meeting, affairs of state unfortunately prevented him from doing so. He asked me to assure you, however, that he would follow with keen attention the proceedings of this Conference as it deliberates on issues so close to the heart of millions of Muslims all over the world and so vital to the cause of Islamic solidarity and brotherhood.

On this occasion my Delegation wishes to express the deepest appreciation of the Government of Indonesia for the efforts made by His Excellency Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in calling and hosting this Conference. Sir, the relations between your country and mine, since their inception as sovereign States, have always been exceptionally close and fraternal. Indonesia is gratified at the record of her relations with Pakistan, bilaterally as well as multilaterally in various international forums, including, of course, the Islamic Conference. For these reasons alone, my Government would have been happy to respond favourably to your invitation to be here in Lahore, to discuss the most important issue today, namely the Middle East conflict, of which we are all fully seized.

Before addressing itself to this main issue, my Delegation wishes to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference who retired at the beginning of the year. I am referring to none other than to my brother, Tungku Abdur Rahman Putra. An elder statesman from Indonesia's neighbouring country, Malaysia, Tungku Abdur Rahman has shown himself a true champion for the cause of Islam. Almost single-handedly, but with the generous moral and material support of His Majesty King Feisal, he has nurtured the Islamic Conference from its early beginnings to what

it is today, an organization whose voice and counsel are increasingly being listened to in the world. If we can be proud today of the stature and activities of the Conference, this is, I think, in no small measure due to Tungku Abdur Rahman's devotion to our organisation in its first formative years. A vote of thanks to him has been passed in Benghazi last year. Still, may I propose that this Summit put on record its appreciation for the contribution made by Tungku Abdur-Rahman to the cause of Muslim solidarity and unity.

My Delegation also wishes to welcome the new Secretary-General, H.E. Mr. Hasan Tohami, who in the past represented Egypt in our meetings. We are all convinced that under his able and inspired executive direction the Islamic Conference will continue to grow and expand, both quantitatively as well as qualitatively.

*Mr. Chairman,*

When we, members and participants of the Islamic Conference, met in Benghazi in May last year, a mood of frustration enveloped our Delegations. The Middle East conflict at the time was bogged down in a military stalemate most humiliating to the dignity of the Arab world. The uncertainty caused by a situation of "no war no peace" limited initiatives to find a way out of the impasse. Brushfires of attrition frustrated officers and troops on the battlefield while adding to the restlessness and impatience of the peoples on the home front.

The war of October 6 of last year, however, has radically changed this mood. The valiant Arab fighters in the cause of freedom and justice have once again given testimony of their unshakeable determination to free their homelands from colonialist aggression and usurpation, even at the price of the greatest human sacrifice. The use of oil as an effective weapon of diplomacy has given a completely new perspective to international economic relations in the world in future, throwing light on the tremendous potential of unified Arab action in the negotiating field.

The Ramadhan war has exploded one myth, namely, the so called invincibility of Israel's armed forces. Of no less importance, that war has exploded another myth, namely, the much-taunted disunity of the Arab world.

*Mr. Chairman*,

In the final analysis, the liberation of Arab lands is an Arab duty. Even without the support of any other country, the Arab peoples will continue to bear the burden of struggle, convinced as they are that this sacred commitment is not beyond their power of consummation. The pages of Arab history are replete with acts of exemplary Arab patriotism and courage, even while facing overwhelming odds.

In its essence, however, the Arab-Israel conflict is more than just an Arab problem, or even a Middle East problem. That is why from the very beginning of this conflict, the peoples and governments of the non-Arab Muslim world, have consistently given their full support to the Arab cause and expressed in no uncertain words and deeds their solidarity with the Arab struggle. No doubt this has been motivated by our firm conviction of the justness of the Arab cause. But beyond that, I am convined, Mr. Chairman, that it is also sourced in the spirit of Muslim brotherhood running in our veins, the spirit which binds us together in sorrow as well as in happiness, and strengthens our common resolve to oppose and eradicate any form of oppression, injustice and the degradation of human dignity anywhere in the world, in accordance with the basic tenets of Islam.

The record of Indonesia's solidarity with the Arab nations, from the Mashrak to the Maghrab, in our common struggle for freedom and justice, is a matter of pride to us. My Delegation wishes to recall here with gratitude the solidarity of the Arab world to us, when we fought for our independence a quarter of a century ago, and in more recent struggles for the complete independence of our country, politically as well as economically.

Having been so closely linked to our Arab brothers, the people of Indonesia know that the Arab nations fully realise that whatever support other countries render to them, this support can only function as a complement to the total struggle waged by the Arabs themselves. For this struggle, complete unity constitutes a basic pre-requisite. Each of us has experienced this in our own struggles for national independence. For five long years the people of Indonesia alternately fought and negotiated for their freedom. They lost in battles and at negotiating tables when they were in disunity and disarray; they gained victories on the field and in conference rooms when they were steadfastly and stubbornly united. That this equally applies to the Arab struggle has been proven last October.

We all know, Mr. Chairman, that the Ramadhan war and subsequent political developments have resulted in agonising reappraisals in a number of countries. Firstly, the two super powers have been made aware that the Middle East conflict, if left unresolved, could lead the world to a nuclear conflagration, the brink of which was reached in the waning hours of that war. Secondly, Israel has been made to realise that for her there can be no question of secure and defensible borders, unless and until she can live at peace with her neighbours. Thirdly, the world has been jolted into realisation that the economic implications of the Middle East conflict, even more so than its political dimension, may prove to have far-reaching consequences affecting the peace and well-being of all countries of the world, developed and developing, oil producing and consuming nations alike. Thus, the cease-fire on the Sinai and on the Golan Heights has led to feverish search for a workable formula and mechanism for peace.

One further result of the Ramadhan war, I may add, has been the rapidly increasing support pledged by more and more developing countries, as well as Western European powers, to the cause of peace in the Middle East. The war, therefore, has resulted not only in

military success, but also in a diplomatic victory and complete support from the developing nations.

Thus, although military confrontation remains a reality, the Arab-Israeli conflict has, as of now, definitely reached a new phase.

The Peace Conference at Geneva has had its first round of talks, and as on the battlefield, a measure of success has also been achieved. For the first time in more than six years, Egyptian forces are now encamped on both banks of the Suez Canal. The United Nations, as the representative world organisation in the search of peace, has been constructively drawn in actual efforts towards finding a lasting solution. And troops of eleven nations under the U.N. banner, including Indonesia's, are trying to ensure at least the basic condition of temporary cease-fire that would be conducive to move towards the next phase of struggle: that of securing a just and lasting peace.

Thus it seems clear to my Delegation, that just as important as during the phase of armed struggle, we should now, at this stage, direct all our combined efforts, support and solidarity towards making the Geneva peace negotiations an effective instrument in the furtherance of our ultimate goals.

*Mr. Chairman,*

What has made the Ramadhan war into a victory will also be instrumental for the ultimate victory in the field of diplomacy. Therefore, the total unity of Arab nations is once again the basic requirement if further successes are to be achieved. We, the non-Arab Muslim peoples, as well as the developing and the non-aligned countries, shall continue to pledge our solidarity and support to our Arab brothers in their struggle in the diplomatic field which is not less difficult, hazardous and treacherous than the struggle on the battlefields of the Sinai, the West Bank or the Golan Heights.

What then are the ingredients of the peace we are striving for? To some extent, they are spelled out in Security Council Resolution 242, which in our view, still remains as a realistic basis for a solution of the Middle East conflict.

Indonesia has always maintained, that peace can only be restored to the Middle East, if those territories now occupied by Israeli aggression are returned to their lawful owners, and if the rights of the Palestinian people, who have been driven away from their homeland, are fully restored and respected. On each and every occasion, therefore, Indonesia has urged that any move towards finding a just and lasting solution must begin by taking effective steps to eliminate these root causes of the conflict.

Thus, in Indonesia's view, the peace we should strive to attain in the Middle East should, above all, be a peace that fulfils the essence of justice. And it is towards this kind of peace that Indonesia will continue to dedicate its initiatives and efforts.

*Mr. Chairman*,

In addressing itself to the other aspects of the conflict, my Delegation has been struck by the fact that, of late, so little has been said about Baitul Muqaddis. Especially so, since the incident of the burning of the Masjidil Aqsa in Baitul Muqaddis was the very reason why the Muslim Heads of State and Government gathered in Rabat, for their first Summit in 1969. Indeed, the liberation of Jerusalem forms part and parcel of the question of the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces. Nevertheless, we feel that the Muslim world should make it a point of particular emphasis to insist that Israel must rescind all measures she has taken to alter the status and character of Jerusalem.

It is imperative that Jerusalem shall be returned to Muslim hands, thus ensuring unimpeded access of all Muslims to their holy

shrines. My Delegation also believes that the Muslim world should initiate a dialogue with the leaders of other religions, for Jerusalem is as sacred to the Christians as it is to the Muslims.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Indonesia has always declared that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people shall be restored to them. This is only natural. For it would be sheer hypocrisy and gross injustice to recognize the right to freedom of one people and deny the same right to the Palestinians. The people of Indonesia nourish the hope that before long the Palestinian nation will be given the opportunity to exercise their right of self-determination and to take their rightful place as a free and independent people, contributing their share in our common task of establishing and promoting world peace, prosperity and social justice for all.

*Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Heads of State and Government,*

As we are assembled here today, we have before us a unique opportunity not only to forge this Islamic Conference into a collective political force that is to be directed in support of a just solution to a burning problem. Much more than that, we are being given the opportunity to work at the resurgence of Islam and of Islamic brotherhood and solidarity as an effective moral force for peace in the Middle East and in the world at large.

On our deliberations here in this Hall, on our collective wisdom and far-sightedness, will depend what we will make of this golden opportunity.

I pray to Allah Subhana wa Ta'ala that He may give us His divine Guidance and unite us in strength and in common purpose towards the attainment of these goals.

Wa akhirul kalam, Alhamdu Lillahi Rabbil Alamin.



*yed Ahmad Khalifa Al Suweidi, Foreign Minister of the United Arab Emirates at Lahore airport.*

*he youngest guest, Haji Nasser, son of President Idi Amin of Uganda, at Lahore airport.*







*Soldiers on duty present arms as the motorcade of Mr. Ali Nasser Mohamed, Prime Minister of the Popular Democratic Republic of Yemen turns a corner on the jam-packed 7-mile route to the Badshahi Mosque.*

*President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto are welcomed at the steps of the Badshahi Mosque by Maulana Kausar Niazi, Pakistan's Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Auqaf and Haj.*



*President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry talks to Prime Minister Takieddin Solh of Lebanon on the steps leading to the quadrangle of the Badshahi Mosque. Several heads of state and government are also seen in the picture.*



*The front row of the historic Friday Prayer congregation at Badshahi Mosque, Lahore*



*Another part of the front row of the Friday Prayer congregation on February 22, 1974. Vice-President of the United Arab Emirates, Sheikh Rashid Al Maktoum, President Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania and Tunku Ahmed Rithaudeen, Malaysian Minister for Information are visible in the front row.*



*Dr. Adam Malik, the Indonesian Foreign Minister arrives at Badshahi-Mosque to join the historic Friday Prayer congregation.*



*Part of the great Friday Prayer congregation at Badshahi Mosque.*

Speech by

## Mr. Houari Boumedienne
## Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and
## Prime Minister of Algeria

*Brothers,*

It is customary in such conferences to address a message of gratitude to the host country.

But I ask your permission to dispense with this custom for once, as we do not consider ourselves guests. We feel, on the contrary, that we are in our homeland amongst our people and brothers.

I do not wish to waste much of the time of our brothers the Kings and Heads of State who shoulder many important and grave responsibilities, since we have heard several proposals and long discussions. However, since the largest international gathering in the last few years was held in Algeria, I feel it is my duty to give you briefly an idea of what took place in the Conference of Algiers, and the viewpoint of Algeria on the most important issues brought to the attention of the Conference, inasmuch as the world is undergoing today a most critical stage and that we are no longer a neglected and unheeded quantity.

I am anxious, from the outset, to state that this Conference which is being held in that historical city of Lahore, must wind up with two important resolutions closely interrelated in order that it may achieve the hopes pinned on it by millions of Muslims in the Eastern and Western hemispheres.

The first of these resolutions is the achievement of real and practical solidarity with regard to the so-called Middle East question whether it concerns the occupied territories of Arab countries or the question of the Palestinian people.

The second resolution is the embodiment of this solidarity. Permit me to state that I do not attach any importance to speeches if they are not followed by practical resolutions which can be put into effect.

*Brothers*,

I do not want to go into philosophical details of Islam. This has already been done by great scholars who threw light on the duties incumbent on a Muslim towards his Muslim brethren, and those incumbent on each Muslim country towards the whole Muslim nation.

The spiritual tie is there and needs no explanation or recalling. It only needs to be embodied and to assume its material shape through co-operation in various fields, particularly the economic one.

Economics is the foundation of life in today's world. Unless we succeed in giving spiritual bonds their economic content, we are bound to remain subjected and submissive in spite of all philosophising and in spite of whatever meaning we give to the tenets of Islam and its suitability as a constitution for all times and places. Human experience has shown that religious ties, whether Muslim, Christian or otherwise, break down in the face of poverty and ignorance.

I learned the Quran by heart while I was only ten years of age. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that the hungry need food first and foremost, and peoples suffering from illiteracy need education above anything else, while peoples suffering from sickness need hospitals. This, in my opinion, makes up the core of the problem. And this was the content of Islam while it was flourishing.

If we want to speak of Islam and Islamic solidarity, we have to come out of this meeting with two resolutions the first of which should be in support of our just cause: the cause of the Arab Mashriq, Palestine and Jerusalem.

We have to adopt such a resolution because it has been recognized by all peoples. I do not say it has the recognition of all Governments because Governments are no more than tools, and every policy has its own galleries of which we know the beginning but not all the sideways.

Should we come out with this resolution and support it with another resolution regarding the elaboration of a practical formula for co-operation among the Islamic countries, we would be in a position to state that Islam is all right and that Muslims have begun to reorient their steps on the path of development and evolution, towards pride and dignity, and this would put us in a position of power that would enable us to defend our just causes.

*Brothers*,

In addition to all its great human power, the Islamic group of nations that are represented here, represents all geographical and political groupings. It comprises African and Asian countries as well as non-aligned ones. And all these countries make what is commonly known as the Third World.

There is a struggle between the Third World and the industrial world. This is a clear fact of life in spite of disparity between national policies.

Therefore, we have to look at these things from a Muslim's point of view, given the fact that Muslims were denied their rights, their countries were oppressed and remained dependent on centres of

influence and exploitation. These centres are not in Asia, Africa or Latin America; they are situated in Europe and America.

These are axiomatic facts which I wanted to mention while talking on co-operation which will be inevitable if we seek to solve our present problems.

The world has witnessed the Berlin dispute, the Sino-American dispute, the Vietnam War, and finally the Arab Mashriq's War which resulted in the energy crisis.

Both the energy crisis and rising oil prices are a consequence of the raging conflict in the Arab Mashriq.

We have always said in all Arab meetings the battle was not only political or military, but was a battle of all potentialities including energy and oil. The Arabs have imposed an embargo on oil. Such embargo was beneficial to everybody, and so, after the Arabs had exposed their youth to death and destruction, they also exposed their interests to dire hazards.

If we analyse the sands of Sinai, we will find grains composed of the blood and remnants of Egyptians. The Heights of Golan are painted with the blood of the Syrians who fought in that war. Despite all this, we took the decision and exposed our interests to danger.

I would like our brothers in Abu Dhabi to allow me to ask. What is the defensive potential of a small state like Abu Dhabi which took the decision of an oil embargo against the greatest power in the world.

What are the potentials of the other countries that participated in taking the decision for the sake of the sacred cause, regardless of the fact that they were exposing their interests to a deadly peril.

All the oil producing countries benefited from this decision and we welcome this fact, for first and foremost, it is the fruit of long and bitter struggle against oppression and exploitation.

We have lived on lakes of black gold but all the profit went to America to increase its power, tyranny and cruelty. These profits helped its industrial base to expand and strengthened the forces of aggression which sought to subjugate people.

Our national resources were drained by Europe, too, to the extent that the wealthy became even wealthier at the expense of the poor. Our struggle to control a vital sector of our national resources is both just and legitimate and we paid heavy sacrifices in carrying on our struggle.

*Brothers*,

Algeria has won her war of liberation at the heavy expense of one-tenth of her population. She has gained independence but she is still licking her wounds. The oil campaign is regarded by Algeria as part of the wider battle for raw materials.

Algeria restored control over her oil resources in the face of peril from the monopoly that mobilized every ounce of strength to bring Algeria to her knees. But Algeria fought a total war for world control over raw materials against industrial powers that have exhausted or are about to exhaust their national resources and seek greedily to lay their hands on those of the oppressed nations of the Third World, Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

When we spoke in the past about the dangers threatening us, our words got limited response. Sufferings of our Third World went unheeded in Europe. The resolutions of the Group of Seventy-Seven remained on paper, as the Santiago Conference (Chile) did not

produce any positive reaction from industrialized countries. We called for the investment of one percent, which is one of our rights; however, industrialized countries did not invest even a fraction of their profits in the development of the countries producing raw materials.

Today after the battle of oil has started, some say to Third World countries that the decision to impose an embargo and raise oil prices is aimed primarily at developing countries. The question that arises at this stage is whether the exploiter has ever defended the rights of the exploited?

The price of iron ore, for instance, has not risen since twelve years. Nevertheless, metal works, including weapons, are sold not only at expensive prices but also with prior conditions.

We import capital goods and scientific expertise at soaring prices. Since our imports from industrialized countries are constantly increasing, our losses grow day after day.

*Brothers,*

The battle of oil is, consequently, part of an all out battle, namely that of raw materials. Such a battle projects the context of relationships existing between advanced industrialised countries and developing ones; a context revealing the wide gap between the two.

We should put this historical opportunity to good use, and face those who seek to tighten their grip on our destinies.

However, individual moves are of no avail, and the only means to achieve the desired results lies in unified action.

Therefore, we have to act as co-ordinated groups—an Arab group, an Islamic one and a third belonging to non-alignment—within

these different frameworks, we have to find solutions to our own problems in so far as co-operation is concerned.

Algeria welcomes effective co-operation and is working for it. She will be ready to abide by any decision aimed at developing and consolidating co-operation among these groups. With all due respects to my brothers I believe that the oil issue is not one of prices.

We believe that the present price is not exorbitant, particularly for industrial states.

If there are problems besetting the developing countries, we must seek together, jointly and as brothers, for radical solutions, and try to avoid the seduction or apparently simple but deceptive solutions which tend to dilute the cause and check this awakening consciousness which is dawning on the Third World. By cleverly using the oil asset, oil producing countries, as well as all developing countries, will derive full benefit.

I am sure that our voice will be heard clearly for the first time at the extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Third World will most assuredly make its presence felt. Hence, it is our duty to be careful in order not to lose this chance. We must be vigilant and find out suitable formulae for our problems.

Among us there are some states who are rich in potentialities and have abundant surpluses; let them invest these potentialities and this surplus within an African and Arab context, indeed within the context of non-alignment for they are the suitable and normal frameworks for co-operation and collaboration.

*Brothers*,

If we are able to get out of this meeting with concrete resolutions which embody our co-operation, we will be entitled to deem this

Conference a decisive turning point in the history of relations between Islamic States.

Thank you.
Peace be upon you.

Speech of

## Al-Haj Diori Hamani
## President of Republic of Niger

*Majesties, Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates,*

With common feelings of enthusiasm, and as it was in the centuries which saw the Glory of Islam, these different nations from Asia and Africa meet here, being linked by the same faith and the universal fraternity of Islam which conclusively refute the materialistic doctrines which explain history only in terms of economic forces.

Permit me first to thank, for the wonderful reception, the host country, Pakistan, whose people proved, throughout centuries, their attachment to the supreme values of Islam. The Pakistani leaders, President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, have proved once again their far-sightedness and given us the chance of meeting our brother Mujibur Rahman.

The whole Islamic world will be grateful for this example of courage.

I wish also to thank His Majesty King Faisal for co-sponsoring this Conference.

I am happy that the family of Islamic countries has been enlarged by the admission of new members.

*Your Majesties,*

Niger, in spite of a very critical internal economic situation, has been anxious to attest, by my presence here, to the fact that she belongs to the great family of Islam.

We are present here to reaffirm, above all, our solidarity with the Arab countries of Asia and Africa which are engaged, since a quarter of a century, in a bloody conflict for which they are by no means responsible.

Niger has always supported, in international forums, the just cause of the states invaded by Israeli forces. We believe that the "objective of a just and lasting peace" can only be realised by the withdrawal of Israel, in conformity with the United Nations resolutions, from the occupied territories, the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the return of the holy city of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty.

I pin great hopes on the negotiations which are due to open in Geneva. But if they unfortunately end in a new impasse, I restate the firm resolve of my country to give total support to the cause of our Arab brothers. It is the duty of all Muslim countries, with regard to the diplomatic battle, to influence the final decisions by showing complete solidarity.

This solidarity has fortunately begun to make itself felt. Last October, it enabled the Arab countries engaged in the struggle against the aggressor, to destory once for all the myth of the invincible Israel. It is also this Islamic solidarity which made African states sever all relations with Israel, winning over many other member states of the O.A.U. in a vast movement which led to the diplomatic isolation of Israel.

It is this solidarity which finally enabled Arab oil-exporting countries to accentuate this diplomatic isolation of Israel by imposing restrictions on their shipments of petroleum products to the developed countries which give military support to the aggressor.

It is on this military and diplomatic front that the struggle against the Israeli aggressor must be continued.

I am convinced that our deliberations will enable us to co-ordinate actions and to define guidelines for the achievement of the final object, namely the evacuation of occupied Arab territories, the return of Jerusalem to Arabs and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinians.

In addition to the study of the agenda, the Conference should hold itself committed to create a favourable climate for the promotion of solidarity and co-operation among Muslim countries.

None is unaware of the multiple economic problems faced by some member states, while the enormous economic potentialities of some others are far from being exploited.

Permit me to briefly underline some of the spheres within which we must, in my opinion, promote the solidarity of the Islamic world.

Accordingly, we can consider the solidarity movement of the Arab oil-producing countries a historical event.

Apart from its immediate objectives, this movement reveals the will of the Third World countries to obtain a more equitable share in international exchanges of wealth. The fact is that such wealth is the common patrimony of humanity, and not the restricted privilege of those who have, before others, reached the stage of industrial civilisation for purely historical reasons.

It is high time for technologically advanced countries to prove to us that their sympathy with the countries of the Third World is not merely lip service.

It seems that the present state of confusion may give birth to an order which is profitable for all, implying real participation and based on solidarity and sound understanding of the interests of all concerned parties.

In fact we can understand that the fabulous floating capital resulting from oil resources and which might constitute a real danger on the international monetary system could be mobilised to promote the development of the Third World making use of the technology of industrialized countries. Such capital could be utilised in offering loans at a reasonable rate of interest, through an international agency already existing or especially established for the purpose.

Industrialized countries associated with the achievements of enterprises established through the use of such capital and benefiting therefore from new markets, will have to give projects serious attention and guarantee the reimbursement of countries benefiting from the international financial agency and provide lower rates of interest.

Thus only would it be feasible to build up new and fruitful co-operation on just and more humanitarian grounds.

In any case, it is necessary to seek a global solution for international economic exchanges since, at the present stage, the uncontrolled manoeuvering of economic powers would inevitably lead to a great amount of injustice. The present oil crisis implies some positive aspect. The industrially advanced countries suddenly realized the fragility of the balance that has hitherto been held in their favour.

It is possible only to sustain hope that a solution for this complicated problem is arrived at through negotiations and exchange of views

and not through the use of force. It is paramount to arrive at mutually useful contracts that would ensure the flow of indispensable oil supplies for one party and for the other to found their development on firm bases.

In this connection I envisage the conclusion of tripartite exchange agreements including the immediate investment of part of the surplus oil revenues of the oil producing countries in projects in other developing countries through using the techniques and equipment of industrial countries.

To attain such ends, there must be a persevering political will and readiness for concessions with every party. It is the duty of the countries of great oil output or of the much sought raw materials to reduce by all possible means the disastrous effects of the increase in oil prices on the economy of other developing countries.

I would like in this connection particularly to draw the attention of this distinguished assembly to the dramatic situation in the countries south of the Sahara and the Swahili countries cruelly hit by consecutive years of drought. Whole regions have become deserts and millions of animals have perished and thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands of people have deserted their homes and have become refugees in the adjacent provinces in a state of misery verging on famine.

Our governments, with their limited means, are unable to face a calamity of such magnitude. The international community seeks to help us. Certain Muslim countries backed us and offered help for which we are grateful.

I have addressed an appeal for the dynamic solidarity of Muslim peoples.

*Your Majesties, Your Excellencies, Gentlemen, the Delegates,*

I thank you for the attention you accorded to the voice of Niger.

Long live the sacred unity of Muslim peoples.

**Speech by**

**Sir Dawda K. Jawara**
**President of Gambia**

*Mr. Chairman, Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, Excellencies,*

*Dear Brothers,*

I would first of all, as a new member of this august assembly like to thank the Islamic Conference Organization for admitting Gambia to membership, alongwith Cameroon, Gabon, Guinea-Bissau, Uganda and Upper-Volta.

In expressing my profound gratitude, I am sure I express the sentiments of these brotherly African countries also. We have always been with you in faith and in spirit and, now that we have been formally admitted to the Organization, the promise to abide by the Charter and to play a part fully in the common cause.

It is a source of great joy and honour for me to address this Conference in the great city of Lahore, the beautiful city with its long history and strong Islamic traditions. That this important gathering is being held in Pakistan is but natural, for we are all aware of the active role this country has always played in the promotion of the cause of Islam and the demonstration of solidarity within the Muslim world.

I wish also to express my delegation's sincere appreciation of the warm reception we have been accorded in Lahore, and to thank the organizers of this Conference for their vision and foresight, and

also for the immense effort and skill which undoubtedly have gone into the organization of this meeting.

I would, in particular, like to thank H.E. the President, who extended graciously his welcome to us, the new members, and also to congratulate H.E. the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the people of Pakistan for their great effort in the cause of Islam and the people of the Muslim world.

The idea of summoning Muslim leaders to come together to discuss matters of common interest is not only highly commendable but is in conformity with the ideals of our faith. The injunction of the Pilgrimage or the Hadj, was particularly designed to provide the Muslim world with a forum for the discussion of issue of topical interest in an atmosphere of peace and fraternity. The Holy Prophet has constantly reminded us that all Muslims are one body. If a man complained of pain in his head, his whole body complained—and if the eye complained, the whole body complained. This famous Hadith of the Prophet clearly demonstrates the spirit that should govern the relationship of Muslim States. We, therefore, congratulate H.E. Prime Minister Bhutto and Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman, for the remarkably generous diplomatic act which they have taken, a gesture which is indeed a precious gift to this Conference, given to us in the true Islamic spirit and tradition. I join previous Speakers in praying that this is only the beginning of very fruitful and fraternal co-operation and collaboration between these brother Muslim States.

One of the sermons of the Holy Prophet elucidating the duties and responsibilities of Muslims and Muslim States was given during the performance of his last Pilgrimage. It is my hope that this Conference will not only provide a forum for deliberations over the pressing issues facing the world of Islam, in all spheres of human activity, but will also generate a machinery which will maintain and consolidate the dialogue and co-operation that have been set in motion, first in Rabat

and now in Lahore. It must never be forgotten, Mr. Chairman, that the faith we embrace does not only consist of dogmas, rituals, or customs, but essentially provides guidance in all walks of life, individual and social, material and moral, economic and political, national and international. It is a complete way of life and emphatically declares that its objectives are:

1. the purification of the soul, and
2. the reformation and reconstruction of society in this world, based on the all-embracing principles set forth in the Holy Koran, and the life-example of the last of the Apostles.

A remarkable feature of Islam is that it does not divide life into watertight compartments of matter and spirit. It regards life as a unit. Islam stands not for self-denial but for self-fulfilment. Hence the Koranic advice for a prayer as follows:

O Allah give us the good in this life
and the good in the hereafter.

It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to address ourselves to the burning economic, social and political issues of our age, and to try to rescue the Muslim world from the shackles of poverty, ignorance, disease, oppression and exploitation. In other words, Mr. Chairman, we must revive the spirit of Islam, the spirit of enquiry, the relentless pursuit of knowledge in science and technology, and to use this knowledge in the uplifting and advancement of our peoples. In this context, in the long-term interest of our association, of our organization and in the long-term development of our peoples, we should not lose sight of the suggestion which has been made in previous meetings under the auspices of this Conference, to set up an Islamic University. Whether we pursue this scientific and technological development of the Muslim world by long-term development, by instituting an Islamic University as it has been proposed, or through the national educational

institutes of the various member-countries of course is open for discussion. I am not unmindful of the great efforts which are being made in the individual countries to develop education, not only religious education but secular, scientific and technological education, but I think this matter should be approached on a global basis as far as the Muslim world is concerned so that we can revive the previous power and influence of Islam in the world. I think, in order to achieve that longer-term aim, social, scientific and technological development on a massive scale in the Muslim world is a sine qua non. The problems facing the world of Islam, are both pressing and familiar. Many of our countries had been under imperialist domination for many years, and have consequently been adversely affected by circumstances over which we have very little control, if any.

Many of our economies are still mono-cultural and/or primary producing and are heavily dependent on foreign aid and the vagaries of the weather. Already, my friend and brother, President Diori Hamani of Niger, has called attention to the plight of the Sahelien countries in Northern Africa which have suffered badly from these vagaries of the weather. We also suffer, of course, from fluctuating world prices for our primary products.

The constant fluctuation of our export earnings due to an increasing deterioration of our terms of trade, the competition of synthetic products and substitutes from the industrialized countries, and the heavy losses that result from frequent international monetary crises, are among the many impairments to the development of our various countries. It is my firm belief, that the greater co-operation and co-ordination, co-ordination of effort in the Muslim world, would lead to a greater mobilisation and control of our vast human and material resources for the benefit of our peoples. Without this co-operation and unity, these resources will continue to be exploited by forces in whose advantage and interest it is to retard our progress and to sow in our midst the seeds of dissension and discord.

The successful use of oil as a political and economic weapon in the struggle to restore peace and justice, has clearly demonstrated what can be achieved through co-operation and unity.

I fully appreciate the circumstances which have forced the Arab world into using oil as a weapon for a just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem. I also understand the circumstances which have dictated the oil boycott of certain countries inimical to our interests and the increase in the price of oil. For too long we have not been receiving the right price for our primary produce. For too long we have not been receiving value for our money. To achieve a goal of better life in the Muslim world and, indeed, in the Third World, the non-aligned world, this highly unsatisfactory state of affairs must come to an end. Although the measures taken by the Arab world have had a dampening effect on the Gambian economy, as on the economies of other developing countries, we accept the resultant hardships squarely knowing that we are suffering in a good cause, a common cause. In this connection, we are deeply appreciative, however, of the efforts which are being made by the Arab countries in concert with the Organization of African Unity to cushion the effects of the boycott and the price increases for the member-countries of the Organization of African Unity.

We are also glad to hear of the generous proposals put forward yesterday by H.E. the President of Libya which we hope will receive the attention of the Conference and we are equally grateful for the generous proposal made this morning by H.E. the President of Algeria.

At this juncture of history, the countries of Africa south of the Sahara, and the rest of the Muslim world are aware of each other more than ever before, and of course Africa has had centuries of connection, through Islam, with the rest of the Muslim world. But at this juncture in our history there is a new awareness which, I think, we should recognize as a force which can be used for the good of the whole Muslim world, and I hope, in fact I am confident, that the Conference of

Muslim States will not lose sight of this fact but will foster this new awareness, this feeling of affinity, and utilize it in all fields for the benefit of our peoples. History bears testimony to the fact that the period during which the Islamic world rose to eminence and power was also the period during which co-operation and unity within this world were at their highest. A spirit of co-operation and unity characterized the reign of the Abbasside Caliphs of Baghdad, and the consequence was that Islamic civilization and culture rose to its zenith and lustre. Description of this period is very vivid. It is an epoch when the rest of Europe was plunged in the darkest barbarism, Baghdad and Cordova, the two great cities where Islam held sway were centres of civilization which illuminated the whole world with the lights of their brilliance.

It is my conviction that Islam still has a potential for the restoration and maintenance of its influence and power in world affairs on influence and powers which we can apply in the cause of peace and justice, and when I say justice, I remember what President Qaddafi said yesterday, the problem of Palestine, the Middle East, is one in fact of human injustice. We should be felt not only by the Muslim world but by all right-thinking people in the world.

We should mobilize our resources and our political will in order to secure a restoration of justice in Palestine, first of all to secure a withdrawal of Israeli forces from the lands they illegally occupy from fellow-Muslim sovereign States in the 1967 War, and when that has been achieved under the relevant UN resolutions, that of course is not the end. We should also pursue the matter so that the people of Palestine, the rightful inhabitants of Palestine who have been forcibly ejected from their fatherland should be restored in their homes and be compensated for all the injustices that have been meted out to them.

We should also pool our forces together to see that the status of Jerusalem, this Holy Place of Islam, and of course of Christianity,

we should exert our efforts to see that the right status of Jerusalem is restored.

*Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Dear Brothers,*

I do hope that this Conference will provide a step in the direction of objectives as outlined previously and also in the resolutions which have been worked out by our Council of Ministers. I thank you all.

**Speech by**

## Sheikh Mujibur Rahman
## Prime Minister of Bangladesh

*Your Majesties, Your Highnesses, Excellencies and Brothers,*

Indeed we are very happy that the 75 million people of Bangladesh have been able to take their place in this forum to declare their fraternal solidarity with their brethren who are assembled here and extend their support to the just cause of our Arab brethren.

I would like to express our appreciation to all those, including the Secretary-General, who have actively worked to arrange for us to be by the side of our brothers today, and thank all the distinguished leaders who have welcomed us today, and to our host and Chairman, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, I extend our thanks. I would like to state that, in opening a new chapter in our relations on the basis of sovereignty, we have paved the way for contributing together to the promotion of peace in our subcontinent and in the world.

Never before has mankind faced such formidable challenges as it faces today. Never before have the people of the world stood on the threshold, on the one hand, of awesome dangers, and on the other, of vast creative possibilities for the improvement of their quality of life. Man has acquired greater material power than he has ever enjoyed before. He has acquired the capacity to destroy the world. We have seen in our times how much power has been used to make war, to oppress people, to deny to them their legitimate rights and to inflict untold sufferings as exemplified by the agonies of our Palestinian brothers.

This is why we need today to get our wisdom than ever before to harness this power, not to destroy, but to create; not to make war but to build peace; not to aggravate human sufferings, but to advance human welfare.

A distinctive contribution of the Muslim people to the problem of our day can be made if we can contribute to the generation of the eternal values of human brotherhood and the dignity of man which the Holy Prophet bequeathed to Mankind.

It is upon these values that we can build a new international order based on peace and justice. It is important for us to emphasize that this Conference can be useful not only to consolidate our unity in support of the cause of Arab brethren but we can at the same time declare our solidarity with the forces of peace and progress throughout the world with the non-aligned nations; with the oppressed people of the world struggling against colonialism, imperialism, racialism and all those people who are struggling against domination and exploitation in all its forms. The historic injustices which have been inflicted on our brethren must be redressed.

The illegal occupation of Arab land must be vacated. We must regain our right over Jerusalem. We salute the brave martyrs and valiant heroes of the Ramadhan War who, by their valour and their sacrifices, destroyed many myths and created new executive conditions which all promise that the right and justice will eventually triumph.

We fully agree that a critical juncture in history has been reached, but a concerted and well-planned action on our part can remove the historic injustices which have been inflicted on our brethren.

By the grace of Allah, today we are in a position to consolidate our resources and our strength behind a strategy which can secure peace and justice for all of us.

I would end by pledging that 75 million people of Bangladesh are fully committed to contribute in every way possible to the success of this strategy.

May the Almighty crown all our collective endeavours with success. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Speech of

## Mr. Habib Chatti
## Foreign Minister of Tunisia

*Mr. Chairman, Your Majesties, Excellencies, Dear Brother Delegates,*

It is a great privilege for me to attend this august Conference on behalf of His Excellency President Habib Bourguiba, President of the Republic of Tunisia, in order to convey to you first of all his warm greetings and best wishes for the total success of our work with the help of Allah.

I also wish to communicate to you the strong desire of His Excellency President Habib Bourguiba to be amongst you in person, side by side with his brothers, the leaders of the Islamic peoples who are meeting today in this historic city of Lahore, to discuss the most important and serious problems ever faced by the Muslim world in its contemporary history. But unfortunately, health reasons prevented him from coming. Nevertheless, he is greatly interested in our Conference and is following its proceedings with the utmost attention, and awaiting the results that we shall reach.

*Mr. Chairman,*

It is my duty, first of all, to express to your Excellency, in my own name as well as on behalf of the Tunisian people, all our appreciation for the fruitful efforts exerted by brotherly Pakistan to provide excellent conditions in which our Conference would be held, I wish to state here how much we have appreciated the warm welcome,

kind hospitality and innumerable signs of attention with which our Pakistani brothers have surrounded us since our arrival.

The holding of such an important Conference as ours in this fraternal country, represents in fact a new phase of the struggle undertaken since the first century of the Hegira by our noble Muslim predecessors.

Tunisia shall always recall that the Islamic Conference which was held in 1950 in this very fraternal country, allowed His Excellency President Habib Bourguiba to take part in its deliberations and to let the world listen to the voice of Tunisia which was then fighting for its freedom and independence as well as for the protection of its religion and Arab character.

In this connection, it pleases me in particular to reiterate here the expression of our deep emotion for the support given by Pakistan to the Tunisian cause and more particularly in all international forums.

*Mr. Chairman*,

The convening of this Second Islamic Summit imposes on us the task of paying a resounding tribute to Pakistan for all the efforts it has already exerted and is tirelessly continuing to exert in order to close the ranks of Muslims and to harmonize their stands in the vast interest of right, justice and peace.

Indeed, it behoves us to pay a similar tribute to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for the efforts which this brotherly country is unceasingly deploying under the wise leadership of His Majesty King Faisal, to realise Muslim rapprochement. How could we fail to also pay tribute to His Majesty King Hassan II to whom we owe the holding of the First Islamic Summit in Rabat in 1969. We all have put on record the success of that Summit, the implications of which have certainly allowed us to meet anew today.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Considering the conditions prevailing now in the world and particularly in the Arab and Islamic countries, the work of the Second Islamic Summit Conference is followed by all the countries of the world, and above all by the Muslim peoples themselves, who aspire to progress and emancipation and who wish to be inspired by the present principles of development taking into account Islam's authentic character, as well as the recent mutations witnessed in our era.

Indeed, we are allowed to think that the convening of our Conference following the Ramadhan war, translates the common will to take into account these principles and to live in dignity and prosperity. It is this precisely which authorises us to believe that the work of this Conference will be crowned with success and will help us achieve the noble objectives that we have set for ourselves.

If the first Islamic Conference took place at a moment when the Israeli challenge reached its climax and completely disregarded all moral and sacred values, the Second Summit is being held after the Ramadhan war, thanks to which several material and moral gains were realized. I shall mention the most important one which is the remarkable unanimity deduced from the reaction of Arab peoples and States as well as the significant support of our Muslim brothers in addition to that of all the peace and justice loving peoples.

The attitude of the Arab nation during the Ramadhan war and after the cease-fire was highly honourable. It was born of the deep conviction of its peoples that solidarity and mutual support were indispensable to the safeguard of right and justice. This is a first prerequisite for the success of the just Arab cause which is one of the most serious issues facing the Islamic peoples today.

Thus, it is only normal that the most important issue which this Summit is going to examine first and foremost is precisely the problem

of the Middle East. In this connection, Tunisia had already proposed a plan for a settlement at the Conference of Kings and Heads of State of Arab States held in Cairo in 1964. Later, His Excellency President Habib Bourguiba presented in 1965 practical proposals for the settlement of the same problem and recalled these very proposals before the start of the Ramadhan War.

We certainly agree that the Middle East problem was created by the Zionist aggressors who occupied through the use of force the land of Palestine and expelled the Palestinian people from their homeland. But the Tunisian view-point had always advocated the necessity of returning to the United Nations Resolutions of 1947 and to put them into effect. This solution may at first sight appear inadequate but it implies an acceptable minimum, which permits the safeguarding of the Palestinian people's rights on the one hand and puts, on the other hand, Israel in a very embarrassing position in respect of world public opinion and these very resolutions of which Israel avails itself to justify its existence in the Arab region. For if Israel persists in its refusal to apply the 1947 resolutions, it will expose itself to a strong opposition at the international level and will also lose the justification for its very existence it has drawn from these same resolutions. Its rejection will furthermore provide the Palestinian resistance reasons which in conformity with the latest United Nations resolution, will allow it to pursue its struggle in the best possible conditions as regards world public opinion. This indeed totally coincides with the second point of the Tunisian plan which consists of an appeal launched since 1965 to the Palestinian people to the effect that they assume in the struggle the role pertaining to them, given the fact that they are the only ones capable of determining their destiny. In fact, as soon as the Palestinian people started to fulfil their role the positions of all the countries of the world towards them and towards Israel were instantly modified. Israel was no more the victim which they wanted to throw into the sea but became the aggressor against a people, an aggressor that occupied by force lands which

did not belong to him and expelled the population living on these lands.

This did not mean to say that the Palestinian people should be left alone in the struggle. We have underlined on several occasions that the Arab and Muslim peoples, should continuously provide them with efficient assistance and shoulder the consequences such help would entail for them according to whether these countries are situated near or far from the battle front.

In this respect, Tunisia demonstrated, during the war in Algeria, how peoples and States should assume their duties in similar circumstances. In this respect, Tunisia endangered its sovereignty and independence and exposed its territories and cities to shelling by colonialist forces which claimed the right to pursue Algerian nationalists beyond the borders, a right which we strongly rejected.

The solution proposed by Tunisia, cherished by all and demanded by the Palestinians themselves, is to establish a unified Palestinian State ensuring for all inhabitants justice, peace and co-operation in an atmosphere of dignity, democracy and mutual respect. In case this solution is refused, it will embarrass the aggressor and will stand as an evidence of the bad intentions of the enemy and his fallacious allegations concerning the desire for peaceful co-existence and stability in the area. The fact is that we believe that peace and stability in the Middle East will not be realized as long as Israel continues to maintain its present position based on usurpation, elimination of an indigenous entity, encroachment on the Palestinian people's rights, launching of repeated aggressions on neighbouring States, ignoring U.N. resolutions and entertaining expansionist intentions.

By its attitude towards Jerusalem, Israel has also manifested its obstinacy, its flagrant defiance of international conscience and its religious chauvinism.

Jerusalem was under Islamic sovereignty—to be an abode of peace and co-existence for the various religions in accordance with Islamic principles founded on freedom of worship and ideological tolerance. Israel, however, is persisting in its endeavours to judaise Jerusalem, ignoring UN resolutions in this respect. It is only by restoring Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem, which sovereignty never manifested any religious chauvinism. Since the Caliph Omar Ibn El Khataab so declared in the seventh century, that Jerusalem will be restored to a state of peace and co-existence as regards religion.

It is indeed strange that Western countries are adopting such a passive stand on the issue of Jerusalem. The ancestors of those States had launched eight crusades under the pretext that they wanted to save the tomb of Jesus Christ from Muslim hands. Now they are adopting such a passive attitude towards a state that has been founded since its inception, on religious and racial fanaticism. We call upon all such countries to respond to the appeals of their Christian peoples, and to endeavour to rid Jerusalem of religious discrimination, for in the Holy City of Jerusalem never was a doubt cast on any religion. It is the duty of Muslim States to convince the big powers and world conscience of the dangers that threaten freedom of worship in Jerusalem, and ensure that those powers put an end to all acts of judaizing Jerusalem.

*Mr. Chairman*,

The Ramadhan war has proved to the whole world that by virtue of its united stand the Arab nation has come to occupy a position of paramount importance in international politics. It has also proved that, with the energy potentialities at its disposal, it can change the course of events if it uses this new weapon of energy well and if it adopts its use in accordance with the development of peace negotiations. Towards this end and by such means can the Arab nation endeavour to eliminate aggression, foreign domination of occupied

Arab territories, without creating any new enemies or producing any obstacles that would impede its plans.

*Mr. Chairman*,

The Second Islamic Summit has provided us all with another opportunity for consultation with the object of closing the ranks of Muslims, consolidating co-operation, ensuring solidarity among various Islamic peoples as well as reconciliation between brothers. We thank the Almighty that the Second Islamic Summit has put an end to the misunderstanding between the Kingdom of Morocco and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and restored brotherly relations between the two countries. That is what we wholeheartedly hope would be realized between Pakistan and Bangladesh to such an extent that they would work side by side in the spirit of friendship and co-operation, for all Muslims are brothers and our religion provides that we should always intervene to bring about reconciliation among brothers.

This Conference affords a fine opportunity to work for the restoration of the status of the Islamic world on the international scene. This is necessary so that the Islamic world would again be able to contribute towards the establishment of peace and justice in the defence of high spiritual and moral values and the principles enshrined in Islam to bring about a world where right, justice and dignity prevail.

The call of Islam is not guided by any aggressive intentions of fanaticism but by honesty and truth, faith and good. Islam addresses itself to the whole of humanity irrespective of any differences in race, people, colour, language, for the basic foundation of values in Islam is right.

This Conference is of immense benefit for it has brought us together, we who represent various countries, peoples and languages.

Islam will be our source of inspiration. (A verse is cited from the Koran expressive of social justice and equality among all people.)

Peace be upon you.



*A day to remember—Friday February 22, 1974—when the leaders of the 700 million Muslims of the world joined the historic prayer congregation at 300-year old Badshahi Mosque in Lahore.*



*Co-sponsor of the Second Islamic Summit, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia arrives at the Punjab Assembly Chambers to attend the conference on February 22, 1974.*



*Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at the steps of the Punjab Assembly Chambers, Mr. Ali Nasser Mohamed and Mr. Mohammad Swaleh Muttee, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Popular Democratic Republic of Yemen are also in the picture.*



*His Beatitude Muawed Elias IV, Patriarch of Antioch and All Orient arrives at the Punjab Assembly Chambers with members of his Delegation.*



*President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria at the Punjab Assembly Chambers.*



*Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister of Bengladesh at the Punjab Assembly Chambers.*



*Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Democratic Republic of Somalia arrives at the Punjab Assembly Chambers.*

*Tun Abdul Razzak, Prime Minister of Malaysia arrives to attend the Second Islamic Summit.*





*Mr. Mahmoud Riad, Secretary-General of the Arab League arrives to attend the Second Islamic Summit at the Punjab Assembly Chambers.*

**Speech by**

## General Idi Amin Dada
## President of Uganda

*Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates,*

I have received a special message from H.E. the President of Iraq, Ahmed Hassan El Bakr. The message reads:

"To H.E. the President of the Republic of Uganda, General Idi Amin Dada,

*Your Excellency,*

I wish to convey my deepest thanks for your honourable stand in the Islamic Heads of State Conference in respect of Iraq for your respected recognition proposal. I wish to inform your Excellency that Iraq favours every effort that is calculated to bring about a peaceful solution with our neighbour, Iran, and which guarantees the respect of the sovereignty of both countries.

Iraq attaches special importance to any efforts which prevent the spilling of Moslem blood.

(Signed) Ahmed Hassan El Bakr,
*President of Iraq*"

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

**Speech of**

## Mr. Ahmed Sekou Toure
## President of the Republic of Guinea

### (Pre-Recorded)

*Your Imperial Majesties, Your Royal Majesties, Your Excellencies the Heads of State and Government, Dear Colleagues,*

The believers of Guinea and their revolutionary Government were bent on participating, through the delegation which our brother Lansana Beavogji the Prime Minister is leading, in this important Conference gathering of the Muslim States of the world.

Is there any need to point out here that it was our most ardent wish, in accordance with the unanimous will of the people of Guinea, to personally participate in this historic Assembly? But as you are well aware, dear brothers, The Republic of Guinea remains a chosen target for imperialism and neo-colonialism, assisted by their various lackeys. Guinea remains a permanent front of the struggle and you may well understand that we are compelled to remain at home in order to face any criminal enterprise with firmness and vigilance. Our common enemy, imperialism, cannot bring itself to accept our stand which is foiling of all its plans, hence the reason for adopting it.

As we have already said earlier, our brother, friend and comrade in the struggle, Premier Lansana Beavogji is representing us here. Yet in view of the exceptional character of this meeting we have insisted on being present through the voice of our delegation.

The importance of this Conference is justified by the immense hopes it has stirred in all Muslim peoples who are subjected to the criminal machination of local reactionary forces involved in anti-popular ventures by the imperialist, colonialist, neo-colonialist and Zionist powers.

Our Conference belongs solely to Islam, that eternal religion founded on eternal truth towards the Eternal Sovereign, the Creator of all that which has existed, which is existing and which shall exist.

In holding our Conference under the aegis of Islam, we have the imperious duty of embodying, through our resolutions and the objectives we have collectively set ourselves, the lofty social values and outstanding human qualities which turn men into real men and peoples.

Islam is the Charter of all practising Muslim believers. Its ideal is that of all worthy men. Its edifice is of undoubted historical and social import, for its main foundation lies in the conscience and free will of man, whose thinking and behaviour shall always be governed by the forces of social justice, human kindness, solidarity and whatever is symbolic of the reign of Truth.

Islam sets fundamental requirements to men and people among which belief and faith in the existence and oneness of God, love and service for the people, love and the propagation of truth, love and the defence of justice, hold privileged positions.

In view of the forceful character of these requirements, we, Muslim Heads of State, must translate in our thoughts and action what we ourselves have declared at the time of the State visit of our brother His Royal Majesty King Faisal of Saudi Arabia to Guinea in August 1965. At that time, we said that "the present stage of the historic evolution of people throughout the world, every sincere

Muslim is perforce a revolutionary, an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-neo-colonialist, anti-Zionist, anti-apartheid, in short, a man constantly and resolutely opposed to all forms of social abasement, social discrimination, exploitation and oppression of the people."

The holders of certain religions have vainly tried to introduce Islam as the religion of backwardness, a religion that favours social inequity and is thus an improper one as regards the promotion of mankind.

Our Confernece, in the face of this disparaging trend, must not only give the universal dimensions of eternal truth which have always been defended by the Holy Quran, but also materialize our fierce determination to become increasingly useful in the task of edifying a new world, a world that should for ever be rid of injustice and inequality.

This amounts to saying that, by meeting together under the aegis of Islam, we have two other missions to accomplish:

*First*, to materialize the stern character of our Islamic faith by strongly affirming our determination to translate the holy teachings of the Quran into democratic and social progress for our peoples.

*Second*, to emphasize our unfailing will for unity of action conducive to power and efficiency when defending the material interest and historic rights of our nations in the face of imperialist monopolies that seek to pursue the exploitation of the manpower and natural wealth of our countries.

The present Conference must therefore prize highly the community of objectives, the identity of behaviour and the unity of action of our States when facing the problems they have to solve on an international scale so that henceforth the reactionary forces which

our enemies are using, shall never again sow dissension between our States and Governments.

In order to rule, imperialism has always divided us. It has always succeeded in creating amongst us an opposition of interest, whether material or ideological for by weakening us it draws its main power which it has invariably imposed on us and which we should weaken without delay and liquidate once and for all.

As we have already said at previous Conferences, Israel has always been and still is no more than an instrument of imperialism. Our past weakness in the face of Zionism has been to depend on such imperialist powers which we have wrongly considered to be on our side instead of Israel's; the fact is that if one can separate an object from its shadow, it would then be possible to separate an imperialist power from Israel. As regards the Republic of Guinea, there had never been any confusion in its mind as to the role of Israel, whether in the Middle East, Africa or the rest of the world: Israel is an agent of imperialism, indeed of every imperialist power, with no exceptions.

We are not fighting Israel for ethnic reasons or considerations of colour with a view to imposing particular kind of domination; we are fighting fiercely against the imperialist spirit which has given birth to Israel and which has imposed it, discarding all historical, social and human values embodied in the Arab body of Palestine which has been obviously frustrated in its natural right to live in freedom on its own soil.

By demanding Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab lands and the establishment of Palestinian State founded on a common and indivisible sovereignty of the two ethnic entities, Arab and Jewish, the Republic of Guinea is abiding by the traditions and lofty values of the Holy Quran; it is at the same time translating its faith into social justice, in God and in its love for the progress of all peoples, which is inseparable from the progress of mankind.

The struggle Guinea is waging vigorously at the side of the Arab peoples as well as the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa against all forms of domination by foreign systems, is the daily and effective translation of the rules taught by Islam viz., the struggle for the welfare of all men, the struggle against evil in all its forms, in order to ensure the triumph of freedom, equality and dignity in the interest of every man, woman and people without any distinction as to nationality, colour or language.

Islam is a language that unites all peace and justice-loving men wishing to live a healthy, honest and dignified life ; it is a language which is the expression of a high civilization, that which puts men above all the material values of this world, for man is the most privileged creature, in other words, the most perfectly developed creation of the Divine Will. Man is indeed provided with a conscience, with the ability to think, foresee and act according to a will with which he is endowed. That is why Paradise and Hell have been solely created for man since the latter, alone, is responsible for his actions in this world.

From this premise we, who have the heavy but noble responsibility of leading the evolution of our peoples, who are Muslim peoples, also have the duty, the imperative duty of defending, with courage and abnegation, the legitimate cultural, economic and military interests of our peoples suffering from the aggression of the forces of imperialism. It is through the accomplishment of this lofty mission that we shall raise the dimension of our wishes and activities and later on, of our balance sheets, to the level of Islam which does not discriminate between peoples or harm any man, because it talks the same language, with the same generosity, to all peoples and to all men, guiding them along the path of greatness and purification, both in this world and in the next.

Our mission ensues from what our religion prescribes and which we should seek to achieve faithfully and efficiently with total

dedication, that is, by devoting ourselves to the pursuit and achievement of happiness, both for our peoples and for humanity at large.

During 1973, our action, thank God, was able to isolate Israel to such an extent that even imperialist powers dared not support Zionism openly.

Even though this could be considered a marked success, we should not lose sight of the fact that progress, like the rose is fraught with thorns.

Indeed, the decision taken by Arab States to reduce the shipments of oil products, which has unanimously been hailed and supported by all Muslim States, could be increasingly and cynically exploited by our common enemy, imperialism, unless sound judgment is used where friendly and brotherly people are concerned.

In point of fact, imperialism, as a result of the continuously increasing effects of the rise in the price of oil products, is striving to stir world public opinion against this measure in order to make it unpopular, for it has suffered adverse effects from this measure.

As far as the Republic of Guinea is concerned, it will accept all the consequences of that decision, and will continue to support it, for Guinea fully understands the morality and strategic wisdom underlying it. Nevertheless, it is our duty to examine here all the appropriate means designed to strengthen the foundations of the unity of action obtaining between the Middle East and Africa, in order to check all attempts to weaken and divide us, initiated by imperialists with the aim of isolating anew the Middle East and of recovering the international positions lost by Israel.

If we do not wish to betray our peoples, the process which started 25 years ago in the Middle East must lead to the establishment

of the Palestinian State, to establish it by and for a just society, by and for the liquidation of all forms of domination, exploitation and oppression of peoples and men.

The Palestinian Arab people, through the heroic struggle it has been waging for 25 years, through the value of the ideals they are defending, embodies our conscience as peoples struggling against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and Zionism and are, therefore, entitled to our support when striving to restore its national rights which have been flouted. To achieve this end, an unbreakable unity of action is required of us in the political, economic and financial fields.

We must have a historical perception of history, and thus extend our spiritual community. We are convinced that all the decisions we shall be taking during the present Conference, and which shall be implemented with the faith that inspires us, such a pure faith, the Islamic faith, will prove to all our friends, and equally to all our enemies, that we have a historical perception of our mission to achieve the objectives of Islam.

Praise be to God,

Glory to Eternal Islam,

Glory to his Prophet Mohamed,

Honour to the struggling peoples.

READY FOR THE REVOLUTION WITH FAITH

**Ahmed Sekou Toure**

President of the Republic of Guinea

## Speech by

### Mr. Ali Nasser Mohamed
### Prime Minister of the
### Democratic and Popular Republic of Yemen

Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to congratulate you on the confidence which has been unanimously expressed by electing you to chair this meeting. Your ability, Mr. Chairman, your political acumen and your complete understanding of our people's problems ensure that our Conference is striding on the right path, conducive to the achievement of Islamic aspirations in respect of the conclusions of this historic Conference of Lahore.

Allow me, also, Mr. Chairman, to convey on behalf of the people and Government of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Yemen, our feelings of gratitude and appreciation to our brothers, the people of Pakistan, for the great efforts exerted by the Government of Pakistan in order to ensure the success of this Conference.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Your wise and courageous decision, proceeding from a realistic outlook, to recognize Bangladesh deserves from us the highest regards and bestows upon this Conference very special significance. I am fully convinced and I have boundless faith that our present reunion will be crowned with total success and will be instrumental in the support for the struggle being waged by the Arab peoples against the Israeli enemy and world colonialism. Such a meeting will consolidate, moreover, co-operation between the Arab peoples in the defence

of their lawful rights and the recovery of their lands, as well as the militant Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Our meeting in the historical city of Lahore will doubtless start off extensive Muslim activity, strengthening the unity of the Arab peoples and securing their right to live in freedom and dignity.

*Dear brothers,*

The heavy legacy that history has left to the Muslims imposes on them, more than ever, to take up the challenge by uniting and closing their ranks in order to enhance their freedom and independence, after suffering for so long from the yoke of foreign domination, arbitrary Government and oppression, in addition to having their dignity flouted and their wealth exposed to loot and plunder.

My brothers, present developments in the Middle East provide ample evidence of the fact that the Israeli enemy is the spearhead of colonialism throughout the Arab and Islamic world. Resorting to insiduous and covert methods, Israel has succeeded in its attempt to infiltrate in Africa, taking full advantage of the fact that its peoples are in a hurry to solve their development problems. Militant African peoples have, however, refused to play Israel's game and have thus exposed the expansionist designs of the Zionist enemy. Africa has been waging a fierce struggle in order to prevent Zionist and world colonialism from imposing their conditions and domination. After discovering the true nature of colonialist designs, the African peoples have understood the cause of the Palestinian people and the just struggle being waged by the Arabs, in particular those of the two heroic brotherly peoples of Egypt and Syria for the recovery of their occupied territories. Today, African States are adopting a fine positive stand in respect of the Palestinian and Arab cause which was given expression by the severance of diplomatic ties with the Israeli enemy. We appeal to the other Islamic countries to follow the example of the African States.

*Brothers,*

It is today incumbent on our Muslim peoples to strive relentlessly towards the elimination of the sequels of the past, of underdevelopment and of poverty; to put an end to humiliation and to endeavour to cut their way, courageously and firmly, towards their future, with a lofty background of a high civilization and immense spiritual and material potentialities. Thus only shall they be able to overcome the painful realities of their life and shoulder once more the banner of their civilization to lead mankind with light.

We must understand, my brothers, that it is impossible for us to remain any longer on the edge of the current realities and evolution of Third World. Indeed our people will never allow us to be entrenched in the past and to boast of bygone glories. They will, on the contrary, expect us to enter a new era of science and progress.

We believe that the cause of Palestine which has been examined by our Conference is an actual asset to the profound solidarity of Islamic peoples; the consolidation of their solidarity should henceforth proceed with additional speed in view of the fact that Muslim peoples exposed to imperialist manoeuvres should face energetically the dangers threatening their security and territorial integrity.

*Mr. Chairman,*

Our people in Yemen have suffered for long years from colonialism and the reign of the Imam. Nevertheless, by refusing to bow to the prevailing conditions at the time, and as a result of their relentless struggle the people of Yemen have succeeded in toppling the regime of the Imam in the northern region through their glorious revolution of 26 September 1962.

The Yemeni people have also triumphed over the British occupation—which has remained for no less than 129 years in the southern part of that country— after a fierce and bitter struggle, and were thus able to establish national power on the morrow of November 30, 1967.

Our people are endeavouring, through dedicated and sincere action, to build up what the past has destroyed and to achieve once again Yemen's national unity after so much pain and strife.

*Brothers*,

Our Conference must deal firmly and seriously with the study of the Agenda items, since our Islamic peoples are giving it the highest importance.

We hope that this Assembly will adopt resolutions and recommendations that embody the aspirations of our peoples towards liberation and peace. Elsewhere, the struggling peoples of the world hope that this Conference will reflect the world's condemnation of the colonialist crimes perpetrated against them.

To conclude, I can only confirm my country's interest in the need to exert additional efforts to ensure the success of this Conference and crown it with positive achievements that would serve the cause of Islamic peoples, as well as all peace and freedom loving peoples throughout the world.

May the Almighty God guide us on the path of welfare and progress for our peoples.

**Speech by**

## Mr. Francisco Mendes
## Prime Minister of Guinea-Bissau

*Majesties, Royal Highnesses, Heads of State and Government, Dear Brothers,*

We feel obliged, first of all, to extend to your august gathering, in the name of the African people of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands, and on behalf of its party—the P.A.I.G.C., the Council of State and the Council of Commissars of Guinea-Bissau, most fraternal greetings and sincerest thanks for your unanimous decision to give our representatives the honour of having a place amongst you. Your decision is of particular importance, as it comes at a time when we are confronting important tasks, and facing sordid manoeuvres plotted by our enemy to prevent the recognition of the international juridical personality of our sovereign State by the world.

It is appropriate, while we are taking the first step into this Organisation, to express our gratitude for the fraternal gesture of the sister Republic of Algeria, which, by proposing our admission, has honoured us with its confidence, and proved once more its firm attachment to the sublime ideals guiding the African liberation movement.

We would also like to assure the Conference of our determination to spare no effort so that we may merit this confidence and make as much contribution as possible within the limits of our modest capacity to solve the problems confronting the Islamic world.

Allow me also to extend my heart-felt thanks to our Pakistani brothers, and in the first place, to H.E. President Chaudhry Fazal

Elahi and H.E. the Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for the warm cordiality accorded to us in this beautiful and historical city of Lahore.

We are sure that our stay in Pakistan, which was one of the first countries of the world to recognize our Republic, will open a new phase of fruitful contacts which will promote our mutual co-operation in the interest of friendship and solidarity between our brother peoples.

We should also like to convey to our Pakistani brothers the joy that filled our hearts when their eminent Prime Minister, H.E. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, said yesterday that Pakistan was on the brink of severing diplomatic relations with Portugal. We are sure that this concrete example of solidarity will be followed by all States that still have diplomatic and other relations with the Government of that country. Surely these States forget that this Government is allegedly pretending to represent, not only the people of Portugal but the African peoples as well, even though the latter are the victims of the colonialist war of genocide that Government is waging in Angola, Mozambique and in our own country. As in the act of recognizing Bangladesh which we warmly hailed, the severance of relations with Portugal will remain, in the annals of Muslim brotherhood, one of Pakistan's most important contributions to the success of this Conference.

We wish to pay a special tribute to our brother fighters of the Palestine Resistance Movement. We wish to say to them that their struggle, today as it was yesterday, is ours, and that we are certain that the day will come when their suffering people will achieve victory over all their enemies and restore the nation of which they were unjustly deprived through the Zionist-imperialist conspiracy against the Arab peoples.

We are also confident that the cause of the liberation of Jerusalem, which we take to our hearts, will ultimately gain victory. To

this end, we are ready to make, with you, all necessary sacrifices, as this issue concerns the followers of all religions in our country as well as other countries. They have always found in Muslims devoted and impartial guardians of the City of Peace.

*Majesties, Highnesses, Heads of State and Government, Ladies, Gentlemen, Dear Brothers,*

We have the great honour to represent before your august assembly the youngest State of Africa and the world, born after seventeen years of victorious struggle, eleven years of which were in armed struggle full of sacrifices.

At this moment when the voice of our people is heard, for the first time, in an Islamic Summit Conference, permit me to evoke the memory of our comrades of all creeds who have watered with their blood the road of liberation of our people, and to evoke, in the first place, the immortal memory of the eminent son of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands, architect of all our victories, who by his relentless action, translated into a living reality the hope of our people for restoring their dignity, scoffed at by the criminal Portuguese colonialists, namely, the late comrade Amilcar Cabral, the founder of our party—the P.A.I.G.C., and hero of our people and of Africa.

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Majesties and Excellencies, is the product of us all. Those who took up arms and went further into the battlefields are fully aware of this fact. In addition to the multifarious material aid we received from many of you, we are equally appreciative of the aid rendered by all those whose contributions, for some reason or another, were confined to unconditional, consistent moral and political support.

I am sure that you understand why I allow myself to tackle, before your august assembly, some of the problems facing our country now.

Encouraged by the historic declaration announcing the birth of our State, our people are more than ever determined today to fight until the Portuguese forces of aggression are ultimately expelled from the parts which they still occupy in our country. As a matter of fact, the Declaration of 24 September 1973, which came at a decisive moment in the history of our struggle a few months after the despicable and criminal assassination of the late leader, Amilcar Cabral, has kindled enthusiasm in the hearts of all our fighters, members of the glorious national armed forces. It has also given a new impetus to all militants and cadres in our party. This new upsurge has culminated, during the past six months, in a number of our biggest military victories and most important achievements in the field of reconstruction.

This fiery enthusiasm has also caught all inhabitants of the liberated areas whose countless sacrifices constituted the mainstay of our victories. No wonder, those inhabitants are proud of their new state, and spare no effort in performing some of the most difficult and important tasks, with a view to ensuring the continued success of our struggle. Undoubtedly, the impact of the Declaration was no less significant on the morale of the inhabitants who were compelled to live in the areas still occupied by the enemy, and who are suffering from the abominable presence of the Portuguese aggressions in our country. The increased subversive activities in the occupied cities, particularly in the capital, Bissau, is directly related to the reinforcement of the determination of the urban population, who saw in this Declaration a new hope for the complete and ultimate liberation of our country.

Likewise, the Declaration was received with great joy in the Islands of Cape Verde where underground political activity has recently risen to a pitch amongst the immigrants of Cape Verde to Africa, Europe and America. Having confidence now in our great party, the party of struggle and unity—more than ever, the Cape Verde people found in the new State their real raison d'etre, a new and effective

weapon for the complete liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, as well as for the unity and progress of the people of Guinea-Cape Verde. The new upsurge is due to the fact that the militants of Cape Verde, led by the P.A.I.G.C. and inspired by the sacrifices made by many of the militants of Cape Verde on the Guinean front, have intensified their struggle in the Islands with the objective of creating, in a short time, favourable conditions for the election of the first people's national assembly of the Islands, which, by fusion with the people's national assembly of Guinea, will give birth to the governing body of the people of Guinea and Cape Verde and our united new state. Thereafter, the P.A.I.G.C. would put into effect the most important part of its programme, which was laid down since its inception, and which made a valuable contribution to the realisation of African unity and the legitimate aspirations of all peoples of African Continent.

Our young Republic has equally achieved a big success on the international plane. Welcomed by the African, Non-aligned and Socialist States, our Republic is now recognized by more than half of the countries of the world.

Some countries, especially members of NATO, that take a common stand with their ultra-colonialist ally, Portugal, always evoke what is called "juridical arguments" in an attempt to justify their refusal to recognize our State. This justification, unable to conceal their real motives, can only be interpreted as an additional proof of their hostility to the African liberation movements and to Africa at large. Our peoples, however, are not dupes and will not be taken in by this fallacy. They fully realize that the so-called "juridical arguments" as well as some manoeuvres in Europe and America have but one aim, i.e., to prevent, for despicable political and economic reasons, the first State ever to be established after a long struggle with Portuguese colonialism to occupy its proper place in the international community, in the United Nations in particular.

I maintain that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is entitled to claim its legitimate right to recognition and admission to the United Nations, since Guinea-Bissau, born six months ago and, nevertheless, recognized by ninety-seven states, is a member of the O.A.U., the Non-aligned movement, the F.A.O., and a full-fledged member of the Conference on the Law of the Seas, in which it participated on an equal footing with other countries of the world.

The stand taken by countries turning a blind eye to reality and determined not to admit the elimination of colonialist situation, which was liquidated a long time ago in most parts of our national territories, is designed to lend legitimacy to Portuguese claims which stand in contradiction with the real facts in our country. Such countries, therefore, bear a heavy responsibility. Encouraged by this support, the authorities of Lisbon are intensifying at the moment their criminal war of aggression against our sovereign State and Africa, through daily acts of genocide against our people.

Since the Portuguese Government is receiving from its allies highly sophisticated military equipment, particularly aircraft, it hopes to succeed within months—during which our application for admission to the U.N. would be discussed—where it failed through eleven years of its war of aggression and long years of colonialism. The Lisbon Government hopes to defeat our courageous and valiant people and block their victorious march towards total liberation. But the desperate military efforts exerted by the Portuguese colonialists will end in failure. Stronger than ever, our People's Liberation Army which is backed by our heroic people, will destroy the reinforcements sent by Lisbon, defend the liberated areas, and render the enemy's life in the occupied centres of our country much more difficult, till we achieve total liberation of the sacred soil of our African country.

On the other hand the Portuguese authorities, using their vast experience in this sphere, continue to hatch new devilish designs

aiming at the physical liquidation of the leaders of our party and State. As was the case when the founder of our State, the late Amilcar Cabral, was assassinated, these assassinations, if successful, will be attributed to so-called rifts within the leadership of the party, and to alleged divisions which the enemy's propaganda claim to exist in the ranks of the militants of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands.

These plans together with other criminal designs are doomed to failure.

Thus, the Portuguese rulers unable to fight us face-to-face, still dream of attacking and destroying us from the back through launching a new attack on the sister Republic of Guinea with the aim of toppling its popular and revolutionary regime, and depriving us of the firm back represented in this sister country. At the same time, our enemy is hatching ludicrous and vile plots trying, in vain, to undermine the firm solidarity and close friendship existing between the two peoples and States. Yet the Portuguese aggressors are mistaken; for the glorious people of the historical 'No' of September have clearly shown during the previous aggression of 22 November 1970, that they know how to save again Africa's honour, defending with their exemplary courage their independence and victorious revolution. In so doing, they will make a new and effective contribution to the cause of our country, as well as the cause of Africa's total liberation from the forces of evil, i.e. of Portuguese colonialism.

*Majesties, Heads of State and Government, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

*Dear Brothers,*

There is no doubt that when we speak of the sovereignty of a nation over its territory we also mean the acceptance of that nation by the free countries of the world as an equal member in the international community. If we use the terminology of the international relations we may state that the aim of this struggle, fought by our

nation against foreign tyranny for liberation, is in fact to attain a place among nations, which is a right to all nations of the world. The Portuguese colonialists are well aware of this fact. The proof of this is that in this very moment of our meeting here, the diplomacy they follow concentrates and manoeuvers in a direction to deprive our State of recognition by Governments that have not yet recognized it, especially in Western Europe and Latin America. They know quite well that if those Governments recognize our Republic their dream of keeping alive the oldest colonial empire in the world will come to an end. Thus any State that recognizes our young Republic accelerates the process of eliminating Portuguese colonialism from Africa for such an act would be to make sure that nations yoked by Portuguese colonialism do not need the consent of the reactionary, colonialist, fascist Lisbon Government to gain their legitimate international sovereignty. Immediate recognition of our Republic constitutes effective pressure on the criminal narrow-mindedness of the Portuguese Government. That would force it to shoulder its international obligations. We do not accept discussion with any party of the existence of any legal causes against recognition. The only legal question which may be raised in this connection is that related to the legal and moral obligation to recognize our African State. This is an obligation to all countries that claim to defend freedom and democracy and that are signatories to the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the historic declaration for the independence of colonised countries, and numerous other United Nations documents which confirm without the least vagueness the right of our nation to establish a free independent State.

*Majesties, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear Brothers,*

Being sure that right is on our side, and thanking you for your constant firm stand in support of our cause, our people, our party—the P.A.I.G.C.—the Council of the State and the Council of Commissars of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau feel that they are entitled to request

you to exercise all your influence in order to make the states—which have not yet done so, to recognize our Republic, particularly the states belonging to the geo-political groups of which Portugal is a member. By so doing you would give new evidence of your faithfulness to the noble ideals which guide our Islamic community and would strengthen the foundations of the edifice of eternal friendship which binds our peoples.

On the Golan Heights, on the sands of Gaza, in the steppes of East Angola on the plateaus of Mozambique, in the fields of honour in Indo-China, or in the rich plains of our country, this friendship gets stronger everyday by the help of the fire of the battle launched by the peoples against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and Zionism.

As is said in the Holy Book, people are brothers. Difference of race and tongue are only signs indicative of The Lord's power. Hand in hand, we are engaged in the same battle on the path of freedom.

Our delegation, which represents a sovereign state, victim like other states and the Arab people of the Middle East of an aggression by foreign armed forces, derives great encouragement from your constant sympathy and solidarity with her. It gets greater encouragement from the fact that effective measures have been taken to put an end to all forms of co-operation and relations between the Islamic world and the colonialist and racist regimes in Africa particularly with regard to oil shipments. By adopting such measures, your states, Majesties, Royal Highnesses and Excellencies, will extend a new and decisive contribution to the struggle launched for the total liberation of our continent. Our people will, for that, remain for ever grateful to you.

**Speech by**

## Mr. Yasser Arafat
## Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization

*Majesties and Excellencies,*

In the name of the people of Palestine and the militant Palestinian revolutionaries I would like first to thank the Pakistani people, leaders and Government for having given us the great opportunity of gathering in this great historic meeting held in Lahore, which is a city of great importance and significance. This city combines the past and its great heritage with the present and with the cultural drive created by previous generations through strength, insistence and faith. This has laid on our generation great responsibilities which require that we proceed along our path guided by the example given by our predecessors and that we keep militant and resolute.

Once again we thank Pakistan and express our heart-felt appreciation for its great founder Mohammed Ali Jinnah. We thank the President of the Republic of Pakistan, and the Prime Minister Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the leader of Pakistan in its current march in a critical and important stage of its history. We thank Pakistan the land of purity, glory and heroism.

*Distinguished Members,*

This highly national and spiritual atmosphere throbbing with genuine and deep feelings deeply affects me, and fills my heart with

multiple sensations engendered by the long history of this inveterate civilization, the torch of which was borne by earlier heroes. Those heroes, with their hearts filled with faith in God and righteousness, put their lives at stake to lay down in these glorious countries the essentials of Islamic civilization with its vigour, toleration, authenticity and human character.

*Brothers,*

I feel highly touched and deeply affected. This makes me recollect historical events and past critical moments. This reminds me of the time when Lahore was a great capital and when the Tartars attacked it and continued their barbaric march to the outskirts of the holy land in Palestine. However, those who hold the Holy Book in their hands, with faith in their heart, are capable of vanquishing such hordes and forcing them to retreat exactly as was done with the hordes of Europeans who came under the name of Crusaders and occupied the same land and in particular Palestine. They were repelled by our men and heroes who stood in the defence of right and history. Our ancestors similarly defeated them in order that the holy land, the land of peace and heroism, the birthplace of Christ and the place of the Israe of Mohammed would remain safe and secure.

At the beginning of this century other barbaric hordes started their offensive against the area under a new and loathsome name, i.e. Zionism, backed, reinforced and armed by imperialism and colonialism. These have come to form dangerous alliance, and Israel has been made new bridgehead for international imperialism and colonialism. This bridgehead is used by imperialism and colonialism to look once more over the so-called Third World which they designate as the backward world.

At this moment I recall the Second Islamic Conference which was held in Jerusalem and in which some of you participated. In

that Conference your brothers there who stood for the protection of Al-Aqsa mosque and the Blessed Rock and the guardians of the Church of Nativity and Resurrection warned against the new danger.

Memories come in succession and in confused speed, with fervent revolutions intervening, and with pictures of noble martyrs falling in defence of right, heritage, Arabism, heavenly sanctities and divine jurisprudence.

Then came the years of the 1948 catastrophe, followed by the intrusion of the new octopus extending at the cost of our nation and working to its detriment and for its degeneration. Then the June 1967 aggression took place.

The arrogant enemy, backed by their allies, thought that they can dominate the area and impose their will on our countries. Our nation, however, is backed by the international forces of good and sublimity.

Seven hard years have elapsed during which they tried to humiliate us and to destroy our faith. However, the Ramadhan war waged by our brave Egyptian and Syrian armies side by side with our revolutionary Palestinians and other Arab forces inflicted a disgracing defeat, for the first time, on our enemy which had been for a long time arrogant and conceited. In this war, the patriots of our nation were able, after the historic decision taken by the wise leaders of our nation, to set the most glorious example of heroism, sacrifice and pride, and taught the enemy a lesson that would change the course of history towards right, justice, pride and dignity.

Forms of great Arab solidarity succeeded one another, backed by the wonderful Islamic solidarity, as well as the fraternal solidarity among the non-aligned countries and the countries of the Third World, and by our honest friends in Africa who supported us and hastened to

sever their relations with this alien body in our nation, the so-called Israel. Mention has to be made also of the other sincere friends who have supported our just cause.

Here, and from this rostrum, I address myself to you in the name of Palestine, Holy Jerusalem, the land of peace and the land of prophethood. It is my duty to convey to you the feeling of concern experienced by your brothers who are still suffering under the yoke of occupation, in the places to which they were expelled or in which they sought refuge. What about the rights of those people? What would be their fate and their future? This is the task entrusted to you by history. It is God's trust laid on your shoulders. It is a heavy and a grave responsibility related to the resolutions which you would put into effect. You have at your disposal ways and means that would enable you to extend help to this militant, patient and persistent people who took up arms, now that all international and Zionist intrigues failed to conquer them. The present Palestinian revolution which now proceeds to its tenth year after undergoing highly difficult circumstances, has been able to convert the Palestinians from refugees to revolutionaries defending their dignity and pride and participating in moulding their destiny and victory, by offering thousands of martyrs, wounded and prisoners of war. Our people have been subjected to barbaric Nazism which resorts to demolishing houses of innocent citizens, 19,000 houses of which have been destroyed so far in the occupied lands.

This Palestinian revolution which started in the most difficult and critical stages in the history of our nation, is another link in the chain of the struggle waged by this people and by successive generations, each of which hands over the banner to the next. Brotherly Pakistan has always been standing side by side with our people during all those hard times. It has always been a continuous source of illumination for our right and continuous struggle.

Holding this Conference in one of the most important towns with a great historic civilization is considered a significant event for its honourable attitude on our cause and the struggle of our people.

This Conference should be a turning point and a further impetus towards more solidarity and support in order to liberate our holy land and to revive the human and cultural traditions of our people which was a shining guiding light for humanity during several centuries.

It is also my responsibility to give vent to another cry for Jerusalem, the cradle of this cultural heritage and the source of this guiding light. This sacred land is now subjected to pernicious judaization attempts. After this Conference, we shall be called upon to wage struggle for Jerusalem in order to rescue it from the shackles of tyranny, so that it may regain its previous status under Arab sovereignty, and remain, as it had been throughout the ages, a beacon light of true and genuine spiritualism and good faith.

Today, more than ever before, we are called upon to follow a well-defined path in the struggle we are waging against all the forces trying to subjugate our holy lands and to efface the landmarks of our civilization through allowing the alien Western civilization with all its materialistic and imperialistic forms aimed at exploiting hard our peoples and impoverishing their thoughts and minds. Hence came our upsurge as a militant people pledging ourselves for the redemption of this land and the maintenance of our cultural values.

It is to our pride to be among the vanguard of the great revolutionary struggle. Besides our revolutionary zeal and iron will with which we face all the intrigues concocted around us by the forces of evil in the world in more than one place, we find in you, brothers, our cherished hope and support. Hence, we believe in strong revolutionary standpoints, however long our path of struggle, whatever the sacrifices, the difficulties, or the enemies and fighting fronts.

We know, gentlemen, that we are engaged in a fierce and cruel struggle in more than one front and battle. Our struggling nation expects from you, brothers, from all honourable people in the world and from all defenders of right and freedom to support it in its difficult and long struggle and to lend it strength and vitality. The road, we are aware, is thorny and arduous but with the will to fight, it will be easily covered.

With strong will, our people, brothers, are determined to continue their march along the path they have chosen to realize their aspirations of repatriation, self-determination, liberation, salvation of our sanctities until the establishment of the State of Palestine is realized.

*Brothers,*

Blessed are these generations that witness the suffering and participate in the Jehad and kindle its fire. Blessed are these generations which achieve great victories and remould their destiny. Blessed are our noble martyrs in their heavenly abode. Blessed are our fighters in their ditches, and blessed are our peoples in their struggle.

*Brothers,*

I sincerely feel that every word said in this Conference and its committees, every resolution adopted and ratified, the discussions that took place in lobbies, were all in the name of Palestine, the people of Palestine, and the revolutionaries of Palestine, which is at the origin of the Middle East question.

We feel that your assumption of all such hard tasks is for the sake of the sacred cause, the cause that we are honoured to fight for in the area. Our armies and revolutionaries fight side by side with you. We pledge ourselves to proceed along the path of sacrifice and martyrdom until liberation and victory are achieved.

We wholeheartedly thank you and pray God to shortly bring us together on the beloved pure and sacred land of Palestine and the holy city of Jerusalem, and to fulfil God's words:

> "And to enter your temple as they had entered it before and to visit with destruction all that fell into their power."

Such is never far beyond God's reach.

Peace be upon you.

*(After delivering his speech, Mr. Yasser Arafat presented a replica of the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem to Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as a token of appreciation for Mr. Bhutto's role in making the Islamic Summit Conference a success.*

*Prime Minister Bhutto came down from his presidential chair to receive the replica and embraced the Chairman of Palestine Liberation Organisation, Mr. Yasser Arafat, to the loud cheers from the delegates.)*

**Speech by**

**Mr. Abbas Ali Khalatbari**
**Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iran**

Mr. Chairman, after listening to the beautiful and highly eloquent speech which was just made, I hesitate to ask for the floor. However, as the work of this Second Islamic Summit is coming to a close, my delegation feels it is its duty to express once more our deep thanks to the Government of Pakistan and the people of Lahore for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to us, as well as for all the facilities they have put at our disposal and which have greatly contributed to the success of this historic meeting.

My delegation would also like to pay a special tribute to our Chairman, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan, thanks to whose wisdom and great efficiency the Conference's deliberations have taken place in a calm and constructive atmosphere.

Finally, my delegation wishes to extend its sincere thanks to Mr. Hassan El Tohami, the distinguished Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference, and to his assistants, who have spared no effort to facilitate our task.

*Mr. Chairman,*

The Summit Conference has adopted a number of resolutions in spite of its brevity. My delegation would like to assure the Conference, and I have already said it, that my Government will not

hesitate to support any move or initiative aiming at the strengthening or consolidation of the relations among Islamic countries and to the development and understanding which are necessary to the promotion of our collaboration. We shall do so within the spirit of the Charter of the Islamic Conference, in other words, we shall keep faith with our international commitments as signatories of the Charter and as member of the United Nations Organization, and within the framework of Iran's independent policy.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I wish to pay once more a personal tribute to the spirit of frank sincerity and co-operation which has animated the delegations in all their discussions, and on behalf of my delegation, I wish to renew our deep gratitude and our thanks for the motion approved by the Conference.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Statement of

## H. E. Mohamed Siad Barre
## President of Somali Democratic Republic

I would like, in the name of my delegation, to express my thanks for the hospitable and warm welcome we have received during our stay, and I would also like to pay tribute to the wisdom, patience and great capability displayed by H.E. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto which have much facilitated the work.

Many thanks again.

## Closing Speech by

### Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto
### Prime Minister of Pakistan
### Chairman of the Conference

*Your Majesties, Presidents, Royal Highnesses, Prime Ministers, Leaders of Delegations,*

In the first place, on behalf of the people of Pakistan, and the Government of Pakistan, I would like to express my gratitude to all of you for participating in this Conference. You have come from distant lands, you have come at a time when there are problems which face you internationally in your own homes. We are aware of the difficulties that are being faced by our brothers in the Middle East, the day-to-day problems, the problems of the future, the problems which we have discussed here, the problems of the last 25 years, all these problems are agitating our minds. All these problems have slowly, gradually, step-by-step brought us closer and closer.

My dear friends and brothers, see the difference today. Look where we stood 25 years ago and see where we stand today. 25 years ago, we were the object of ridicule and of humiliation. We were thought to be a poverty-stricken people who would never emerge to assert their rights, and that is why usurpation took place, and that is why injustice of the worst form was perpetrated against Muslim lands and against Muslim people. We have travelled a great distance, but yet we have to travel much more, a great deal more, before we can attain our sublime and just objectives.




*President Anwar Sadat arrives at the Punjab Assembly Chambers.*



*Sheikh Sabah As Salem As Sabah the Ruler of Kuwait comes to attend the Islamic Summit at the Punjab Assembly Chambers.*



*Sultan Qaboos Bin Said of Oman arrives at the Punjab Assembly Chambers to attend the Second Islamic Summit*



*Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al Thani, Amir of Qatar arrives at the Punjab Assembly Chambers to attend the Summit Conference.*




*The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, on arrival at the Punjab Assembly Chambers with Mr. Haider Al Husseini.*



*Professor Turan Gunes, the Foreign Minister of Turkey, on arrival at the Punjab Assembly Chambers.*




*King Faisal keenly follows the debate at the Conference.*

*A closer look at the Conference.*





*The heads of the Indonesian, Iranian and the Jordanian Delegations are seen in the centre.*

*The Pakistani Delegation at the Summit.*



We have no doubt in our minds that inescapably, irresistibly, inevitably, these objectives will be achieved, no matter who is against the forces of Islam. This is not a new challenge that Islam faces. From its birth, from its inception, Islam has faced one challenge after another. Yes, there have been set-backs, there have been terrible set-backs, but, having faith in Almighty Allah, and being guided by His wisdom and by His Holy Scriptures, we can never lose confidence in ourselves, in our cause and in our future.

On behalf of my poor people, I am beholden to you, I am ashamed of not being able to provide you with the proper facilities. It has been a source of embarrassment to us that Kings and Monarchs and friends and Presidents have come to this city of Lahore, where we have not been able to make adequate arrangements for you. If there have been any shortcomings, any awkwardnesses, please forgive us, because in our heart and with all our soul, we wanted to give you the reception of brothers, which you are, and which you have always been, and which you shall always remain.

I am thankful to all of you for having brought about this Conference, for having worked so hard to see it come into fruition. In particular I am thankful to King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, for having co-sponsored the Conference. There were times that this Conference ran into difficulties, and we wondered whether it would be held or not, but now it has been held, and it has achieved results. I will not say that this has been a barren conference. Time will tell how valuable it has been, but in my humble evaluation and judgment, this Conference and the deliberations of this Conference have paved the way for a more brighter and a more glorious future for all our people.

I am thankful to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to make this Conference a success. I am thankful to the Secretariat for all the painstaking work it has done for the achievement of this Conference. I am thankful for all the little people, all the ones who

have worked in one capacity or another, the nameless ones, the unimportant ones, to refer to them in inverted commas, who have rendered great services.

I am grateful to the people of Lahore, to the citizens of Lahore for the reception they have given to our brothers-in-arms.

I am grateful to the people of Pakistan for their spontaneous enthusiasm and devotion for the success of this Conference. Many important decisions have been taken. Many momentous events have taken place. I do not want to go into details. The hour is late. Today, here, we have all our brothers and friends, all our brothers and friends, and I would not have been happy, my conscience would not have been clear, if 65 million people who are Muslims and brothers-in-arms of Bangladesh would not have participated in this Conference.

This is a Conference of Muslims, this is a Conference of Believers, this is a Conference of brothers-in-arms, this is a Conference of a faith which has faced challenges, as I have said.

Let me conclude by telling my brothers and friends that we, as a poor nation, with limited resources, do not have the wealth to make contributions for economic institutions or for funds. We cannot make contributions, monetary contributions, in terms of percentages, but let me assure you, with Allah as my witness, that we shall give our blood for the cause of Islam.

These are not empty words. We have had many difficulties in Pakistan. We have had many problems in Pakistan. But, by the grace of Allah, these problems are being overcome one by one. The nation is progressing and the people of Pakistan are the soldiers of Islam and the armies of Pakistan are the armies of Islam.

Wherever the need arises on whatever the occasion, you will find that Pakistan will not be found wanting. I am ashamed that, in the

last conflict, we were not able to do what we wanted to do but, God forbid, if there is a conflict in the future, you will find the whole weight of Pakistan behind your cause, and Insha Allah T'ala, in Beitul Muqaddas we shall enter as brothers-in-arms.

I thank you once again.

# PART II

**Speech by**

## Y. A. B. Tun Haji Abdul Razak Bin Hussein
## Prime Minister of Malaysia

*Mr. Chairman, Your Highnesses and Excellencies, Heads of State and Government, Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates,*

Allow me to extend to you, Mr. Prime Minister, my warmest congratulations on your election as Chairman of this Conference. This is indeed an important Conference at the Summit level where, as Heads of State and Government of Muslim countries, we have assembled in the spirit of friendliness and Muslim brotherhood to address our minds together on matters of great concern to all of us. I have no doubt whatsoever that under your able and wise guidance this Conference will bring about not only fruitful discussions among us but also useful and concrete decisions that will reflect the solidarity which exists among all Muslim countries.

I also wish to express my deepest gratitude to you, Mr. Chairman, and to His Majesty King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, for your personal initiative in bringing all of us together to this beautiful and historic city of Lahore. The untiring and painstaking efforts exerted by your Government and the Government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in co-sponsoring this Conference and in attending to all its minute details in co-operation with the Islamic Secretariat will, I know, ensure the success of this Summit. Similarly, the congenial

and pleasant atmosphere provided by Lahore, and the generous hospitality showered upon us by you, Mr. Chairman, and your Government, will surely ensure smooth deliberations of all the issues that will be brought before us. My Delegation and I once again would like to thank you for inviting us here and we are deeply honoured and touched by the welcome, the care and the hospitality extended to us by the Pakistani Government and Pakistani people.

Mr. Chairman, my thanks and gratitude are also due to the Islamic Secretariat under whose auspices we meet today. The retirement of His Excellency Tunku Abdul Rahman as Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat recently has been a great loss to all of us. We are indebted to him for the immense contributions he had made in bringing all of us together under the banner of the Islamic Conference. Indeed, our gathering here today owes much to him.

In his place, we are indeed fortunate in having His Excellency Mr. Mohammed Hassan Al Tohamy who is not only a Muslim of high personal standing but who also has vast experience in Islamic affairs. I am confident we shall gain very much from his wise counsel and persuasive guidance in upholding the noble objectives and ideals of the Islamic Conference and Secretariat. On behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, I wish to extend to him our warmest congratulations on his election to this high office and the renewed assurances of Malaysia's closest co-operation and support for the work of the Secretariat.

*Mr. Chairman,*

It is with the greatest pleasure that I offer on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf our sincere congratulations to the delegations of Cameroon, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Uganda and Upper Volta on their admission as members of our Organisation. We are also happy with the participation of Iraq for the first time as

observer at this historic Conference. I bid them a warm welcome and we are happy to have them with us. Their presence here is a clear indication of the growing strength and unity of our Muslim brotherhood.

Another unforgettable event which warms all our hearts is the reconciliation between Pakistan and Bangladesh. Pakistan and Bangladesh were one people and one country, but were separated by accident of history. However, thanks to the untiring efforts of this Conference both the Governments of Pakistan and Bangladesh have forged a new bond of relationship between them. We all cannot but admire the magnanimity and a deep sense of understanding and accommodation shown by you, Mr. Chairman, as leader of Pakistan, and by His Excellency Prime Minister Shaikh Mujibur Rahman. May this historic event be the beginning of a new era of close and cordial relations between your two countries as brother nations within the Muslim world.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, an assembly such as this was first held five years ago in Rabat, the capital city of the Kingdom of Morocco. Our meeting then, it will be recalled, was occasioned by our anguish and horror at the desecration and destruction of the Al-Aqsa Mosque. Islam, the great faith of our fathers was then suffering yet another blow. Its concepts were misunderstood and its influence in the councils of all but a few nations was waning and for the most part inconsequential. At that meeting, in the midst of our sadness, it was resolved that the decline of Islam had to be arrested. At that meeting, the first steps towards Islamic solidarity and co-operation were taken. This was then followed by the creation of the Islamic Secretariat. Our gathering here today, I believe, is the fruit and vindication of our resolve five years ago.

Mr. Chairman, for several centuries disunity and turmoil has prevailed in the Muslim world and hampered our quest for progress.

Internal feuds and rivalries have weakened us and our peoples have succumbed to alien rule. The glory that was Islam faded into all but obscurity.

But through it all, Islam never lost its identity. In its golden age, Islam has contributed extensively to the advancement of civilisation. The splendour and the glory of its achievements is a historical fact of which we can be justly proud. Our common creed and its contributions to civilization in its era of glory must now inspire us to strive for the restitution of Islam and its relevance in a new progressive era. Through unity, we would be better able to pursue these goals and ideals and at the same time strive to improve our political and socio-economic conditions. In this respect, the Islamic Conference has provided us with the basis for co-operation and our joint efforts towards progress and prosperity can in consequence pave the way for the revival of Islam.

Mr. Chairman, and distinguished delegates, in the past five years we have made some progress. But let us not be content and become complacent by the success we have so far achieved. Much remains to be done. The tasks ahead are vast and difficult, and require great sacrifice and patience. With our common dedication and faith, we must reach for greater goals. Needless to say, economic advancement remains our primary need. For this reason, I place great hope in the proposal for the establishment of the Islamic Development Bank which, I believe, can provide the avenue for new and promising co-operation amongst us. Indeed, the Bank will enable us to apply and utilise our abundant economic potential to the maximum advantage of all our nations, thereby contributing towards the betterment of all Muslims the world over.

But, Mr. Chairman and distinguished delegates, standing defiantly in the path of our progress and our quest for the revival of Islam are the forces of Zionism. In 1967, Israel, in complete defiance

of the UN Charter and in total disregard of world public opinion, embarked on an act of naked belligerence and force, and occupied vast territories belonging to our Arab brothers. She had, with contempt, rejected all offers for peace, and instead continued with her intransigence. In her negligence, the Al-Aqsa Mosque was desecrated.

Today, Mr. Chairman, we meet again in the aftermath of war. But, this time, with a difference. Israel's continued intransigence and bellicosity have forced our Arab brothers again to resort to every means in their power to regain their occupied territories. And, thanks to the valour and vigour of Arab fighting men, a new mood, a new spirit, indeed a new force has emerged in the world.

The problems of West Asia have persisted for nearly three decades and remain today as potentially dangerous and explosive as they have ever been. It cannot be denied that the root cause of the problems in West Asia is the deprivation of the Palestinians of their inalienable birthright. Palestine was their homeland which was forcibly wrested from them by Israel. Time cannot erase this fact nor deny to the Palestinians their rights to their own homeland, their own country. Until their right is restored, the conflict in that region will persist and there will be no lasting peace in West Asia. It remains our urgent responsibility to press for a solution to this basic problem.

Mr. Chairman, Malaysia has consistently emphasised that the acquisition of territory by the use of force, as in the case of Israeli occupation of Arab land, is illegal and illegitimate as judged by any yardstick of human civilization. Time and again, my Government has emphatically drawn world attention to Israeli intransigence in the West Asian crisis and we have unequivocally condemned her for her continued occupation of all Arab lands. Not only is our sympathy with the just cause of our Arab brothers, we also stand prepared and willing to extend all possible assistance within our means to help our

Arab brothers regain what is rightfully, historically and legally theirs, so that peace with justice once again may prevail in West Asia.

Mr. Chairman, another issue of no less importance and indeed related to the question of peace in West Asia, is the issue concerning the Holy City, Baitul-Muqqadis. So many years have passed and countless resolutions have been adopted both by the UN and other international conferences, since Israel annexed the Holy City of three major religions of the world. Israel's persistent attempts to transform the character of the city, in defiance of all resolutions on the issue and in utter disregard of world opinion, is a cause of grave concern to all Muslims and peace-loving countries throughout the world. The judaization of the city is but a deliberate move by Israel to suffocate the rights of its Arab inhabitants, both Muslims and Christians alike, and deprive them of their ancient freedoms in the Holy City. These are despicable acts. It behoves upon us at this Islamic Conference in co-operation with the international community to see to it that Israel wil! have to forthwith stop all these activities.

Mr. Chairman, nearly three decades have passed and the problems of West Asia have persisted. The world community has pronounced itself often enough and clearly enough on the wilful intransigence and arrogance of Israel. But the forces of Zionism have been of such a dimension that the will of the world community has been frustrated—though we are at the same time justified in wondering whether the words of condemnation of Israel were not, in the case of a number of countries, more pious than serious.

To those blind to the plight of our Arab brothers, pleadings failed, as did warnings when repeatedly put before them. Our Arab brothers have resorted to arms, and have emerged with honour and dignity. After much soul searching they have turned to the only other weapon left to them in their quest for justice. Fortunately, the lands where Islam was first propagated are also endowed by nature

to be the well-spring of one of the world's most important sources of energy. Consequently, the oil embargo is a weapon resorted to by our Arab brothers to counter the influence of Zionism and to peel away layers of falsehood piled on over the years that have hidden the justice of their causes. In consequence of the use of this weapon, the righteousness of the Arab cause stands in bold relief and progressively those who have been blind to the many injustices perpetrated by Israel are beginning to see the light. This at long last is having an impact upon Israel. For the first time in over a quarter of a century, Israel's intransigence is beginning to wear out. Never in three decades of turmoil and bloodshed has peace been known to the peoples of this sorely troubled area of the world. The initial rounds of preliminary negotiations have been completed and Israel has finally begun to pay some heed to the world's demands for its withdrawal from Arab territories.

Mr. Chairman, a serious blow has been inflicted on Zionism. Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories she has forcibly occupied is the minimum prerequisite for peace in West Asia. This is the wish of world public opinion as pronounced in Security Council Resolution 242 of November, 1967. Our Arab brothers cannot accept anything less, and we of the Muslim world are solidly behind them not only in our sentiments but also in our desire and willingness to render them assistance until true justice and lasting peace prevail in West Asia.

Mr. Chairman, all of us are alert and alive to the desperate attempts of Zionism to frustrate our quest for justice in West Asia by its incessant dissemination of falsehood regarding the oil embargo that our Arab brothers have been forced to resort to by circumstances beyond their control. It is admitted that the use of this weapon has had its adverse effects not only on the highly industrialised economies but also on those economies that are still developing. But it is without doubt that our Arab brothers, and for that matter, the whole Muslim world, have taken cognizance of this. For, we as

Muslims are fully conscious of the immense strength that flows from the precepts and practice of Islam. The greatness of our faith is that it inculcates in the believer the virtues of humility, restraint and concern for the welfare of our fellow-men in the pursuit of the will and word of Allah.

The use of a powerful weapon is like a great flame. It must inevitably scorch surrounding areas. The use of oil as a weapon against the nefarious influences of Zionism has inevitably had repercussions upon innocent parties. We cannot but be determined to check the evils of Zionism, but at the same time the tempering influence of Islam upon us has also moved us to soothe the scorched skin of the innocent. We can thus witness here the great concern of our Arab brothers for the innocent who have suffered from the effects of the oil shortage as evidenced by the creation of the two funds namely Arab Special Fund and Special Fund within OPEC, to mention but these two measures. We know also that they are continuing to apply their minds to ways and means for alleviating the hardships which face the developing countries. These actions should serve as more than ample indication to those who doubt the temperance of our Arab brothers in their use of oil as a weapon, that once the problems of West Asia are resolved with justice and honour they need have no fear that sanctions will continue.

In these trying times faced by all Muslims throughout the world, the unity, the determination and the vigour of our Arab brothers in the pursuit of justice and peace have our complete admiration. Our sympathy and support go to them in their noble and righteous endeavour and we pray for their success. I pledge here once again Malaysia's total support for the Arab cause and for the greater glory of Islam.

Mr. Chairman, distinguished delegates, we meet today in an atmosphere of renewed faith and hope. Because of the courage and

resourcefulness of Arab fighting men, the war of October 1973 transformed more than the situation in West Asia. It has blown a fresh wind of change and renewal in Muslim countries and among all Muslims. I see today at last the glimmerings of Muslim unity. I see today the emergence, by the grace of Allah, of a true commonwealth of Muslim countries. Let us all therefore dedicate ourselves to bring about the realization of this great vision of all Muslims. We should stick to the essentials which hold us together, the great religion of our fathers, the cause of justice and freedom, and the eternal glory of Islam. Let us build, little by little, on the foundation which is beginning to exist so that a truly strong edifice of Muslim unity will emerge.

Let us explore areas of co-operation in trade and development, in the diplomatic fields, and in such fields as culture and sports and education which will bring our people closer together. Let the Islamic Development Bank which we have agreed to establish be truly a beacon of hope for the development of Muslim countries. Let us in these practical ways forge greater links of unity and co-operation so that the force of Islam will truly count in the councils of the world.

Let us also affirm once more that the Islamic world will not be a force to intimidate or to destroy, but to create, to succour, and to uphold the cause of justice.

It is in this context, Mr. Chairman, I should like to express the gratitude of the Malaysian delegation for the reference made to the plight of Muslims in the Philippines. We in Malaysia have exerted our efforts on the Philippines Government to resolve this problem and avoid the unnecessary loss of so many lives. The tragic situation prevailing in Southern Philippines today is a cause of great concern to us in Malaysia. Up to now thousands of Filipino Muslims have fled the country and sought refuge in Malaysia. We, therefore, appeal

to all the delegations present here to use their good offices to prevail on the Philippines Government to work out a just solution to the problems encountered by the Muslims in that country—problems which must be regarded her own internal affairs, but nevertheless are of concern to us in Malaysia as well as to the Muslim world.

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, we Muslims seek to unite ourselves not for the arrogance of power, but for a noble purpose of building a truly, just and prosperous international order for us and our children. We seek to give our Muslim brothers a rightful place in a peaceful world. Let us, therefore, resolve to achieve this objective and together today make a bold big step forward to that end.

Statement of

## His Highness Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al Thani
## Amir of the State of Qatar

Lahore, that authentic Muslim city, is truly witnessing historic days. Muslim Leaders from the four corners of the world, bound by the most sacred links and united by God's precepts are gathered in this great Conference hosted by Pakistan. Could anything greater be conceived than the unanimity of these Leaders in their endeavours to secure success for the issues of the Muslim world. Recalling their glorious past and their rising present, they are determined to maintain unity of thought and unity of views in all spheres likely to promote a happy upsurge in order to achieve prosperity and happiness for Muslim countries, and dignity and invincibility for their peoples. Lofty was their resolution that there could be no peace on earth unless it were a just and right peace, and that peace could be established only through restoration of usurped rights and liberation of occupied lands from the injustice of abject colonialism and the shackles of Zionism.

From Lahore, this land of peace and authenticity, I turn my eyes towards Jerusalem, the first Kibla and the place of Ascension of the Prophet of peace and Islam. The time has come for it to be liberated from its bonds through the great Jehad so that it can be restored to what it has been throughout fourteen centuries, the city of peace and the third of the Holy Shrines. At these memorable moments, it gives me great pleasure to recall, with feelings of admiration and appreciation, the great cultural legacy left by the creative genius of Pakistan, Mohammed Iqbal, the son of this beautiful city of Lahore

and whose centenary was commemorated a few days ago. Among his poems, he said on Islam:

We are one thought and one dream,
A single aspiration and a single destination.
By the grace of God we became brothers,
Our hearts, souls and expressions alike.

Praise be to the brotherly peoples of Pakistan and peace to this beloved country where the Leaders of the best nation God gave to the world are meeting today.

May the Almighty lead us to success; we are relying on Him, the Almighty Guide and Saviour.

## Report of

### Mohammed Hasan Mohammed Al Tohami
### Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference

*Mr. President, Your Royal Majesties, Your Highnesses, Excellencies, Brothers in Islam,*

Allow me to greet you with a heart full of love, sincerity and faithful to the pledge which binds us all as brothers in Islam, faithful to God and to our conscience, and consequently to the responsibilities laid on our shoulders namely to proceed with our nation along the path God Almighty has indicated for us—the most cherished path known to humanity, and which all of us have become aware of through thought, beliefs, politics, war and peace. This is done in the hope and aspiration of reviving our nation, by the will of God.

Allow me, Mr. President, to greet you, and through you, the brotherly people of Pakistan. The efforts exerted to bring together the views of Muslims at the highest level lead me to pay tribute to the distinguished Ministers, senior officials and all the people of Pakistan whose spirit, generosity, genuine spiritual background and warm welcome we cherish.

I should also like to pay tribute to the outgoing Secretary-General, Mr. Tunku Abdul Rahman, who was unable to attend this meeting, and to hail in his person the people of Malaysia in whose name he shouldered the responsibility of the Islamic Secretariat.

*Mr. President,*

At a time when the bastions of our enemies, the sons of Israel and their supporters are collapsing; at a time when the Islamic nation has begun to throb with hope since the tenth of Ramadhan, international developments are following in succession, involving all the countries of the world, we have gained control of the situation and taken the initiative in the field of planning and action.

The distinguished Heads of State and Government have covered all aspects and features of the glorious battle. I, therefore, want to explain that if what happened on the tenth of Ramadhan marks the end of a phase in our military, political and economic history, what are the characteristics of our new march as a community of Islamic countries and as a collective action with which we would face any possible plots and manoeuvres. When we deal with people devoid of principles as well as rich in cunning and treachery we must expect from them the revenge of a wounded tiger. If we are not vigilant, we may be taken by surprise again.

Israel has received from our traditional enemies all kinds of human, technological, material and financial assistance, without any limits or strings attached. For this purpose, Israel drew a plan and organized a campaign which is an integral part of the Zionist existence itself, supporting this by activities aimed at preparing for continued aggression.

According to information available to us all, Israel received more than five billion dollars in aid, and services of all types of volunteers, technicians, workers, pilots, paratroopers and tank crews. It mobilized permanent offices for this purpose, preparing for war during times of peace.

In spite of the fact that our enemy has preceded us in securing these international sources of strength which gave the temporary

Israeli existence in the land of Palestine the status of a world power, this plan has been considerably affected after the tenth of Ramadhan. However, the support did not disappear, some countries even increased their direct support to Israel and their firm determination to defend this temporary existence.

I mentioned this in order to draw attention to the other side, namely our own side. We should adopt this method at the level of the Islamic world as a whole and respond to its determination to participate in the battle of faith, belief and the defence of sanctity of our holy places.

For the first time in our struggle against the enemy, the battle of the tenth of Ramadhan proved the possibility of the collective practical participation of the Islamic nation through participation of many brother member countries of this Organization with men, arms and equipment. Such countries included for example, Morocco, Algeria, Pakistan, Sudan, Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Large numbers of brave fighters came from other countries motivated by their religion and creed.

*Gentlemen*,

If there is any lesson to be drawn, it is that Almighty God showed us the way to accept, recruit, train, and prepare volunteers from the Islamic world as an integral part of the struggle, the concept of which becomes very clear when we speak of the recovery of Jerusalem, Palestine and of defending the dignity of this Islamic nation.

Initial approval of this method paves the way for the assimilation and organization of these tremendous human and material resources, seeking to safeguard the principle of our collective struggle as an imperative duty even at this stage of edification of the dignity of Islam and Muslims.

Laying down a programme of action, and embarking on it depends on the approval of this august conference, which cherishes the dignity of Islam, particularly so because previous Foreign Ministers' Conferences have adopted resolutions defining the responsibility of Islamic countries in recovering Jerusalem and Palestine through the appropriate means.

## Jerusalem

Mention of Holy Jerusalem deeply touches our feelings, reminding us of the pledge of Omar ibn Al-Khattab (known as the pledge of Eliah) when he was called upon to receive, on behalf of the Muslim nation and as the Caliph of the Muslims, the keys of the Holy City after it was liberated by the Muslim armies and purged from the remnants of Romans and Zionists. It remained sanctified in spite of all the vicissitudes throughout a long period of history, and true to pledge of Omar which I shall read out to you for the concepts it enshrines—of a legal and historical commitment. It is a pledge, still valid, between us and those who live in that land, namely the followers of prophets, God's blessing be upon them.

## Text of Caliph Omar's Pledge

"In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate; hereafter is the security and peace which Omar, Emir of the Faithful, has granted to the people of Eliah: He grants them security for their own persons, money, churches, crosses, whether in good or in bad condition, and security for their nation. Their churches shall not be pulled down, nor will their riches or crsoses be pillaged; nor will their money be plundered; nor will they be forced to do anything against their religion. They will not be harmed by any person; and no Jews shall live with them in Eliah. The people of Eliah, like the people of other towns, will have to pay tribute, and they will have to drive away Romans and thieves. Whoever of the Romans wishes to go out, he

will find peace, and may pay the same tribute as the people of Eliah. If anyone from the people of Eliah wishes to join the Romans and carry away his money, merchandise and crosses, he will also be safe and his merchandise and crosses will be secure until they reach a safe destination. But if anyone of them wants to stay behind, he may do so, and will have then to pay the same tribute as the people of Eliah. Whoever wishes may go along with the Romans; nothing will be taken from those who prefer to join their own people until they have harvested their crops.

"The contents of this pledge are sanctified by the name of God, and of His Prophet and the Caliphs as well as all the Faithful, if the people of Eliah pay the due tribute.

"Written in the Year 15 A.H.
"Witnesses to this Pledge are:

Khalid Ibnul Walid;
Abdul Rahman Bin Ouf;
Amr Ibnul Aas;
Moawiya Ibn Abi Sofian."

Since this date, the followers of Christ have acknowledged the right of Muslims to vindicate, safeguard and preserve the Sacred Places in Holy Jerusalem; and they did that willingly and out of their own choice and conviction. The keys to the Church of Resurrection in Jerusalem are still kept by "Nassibas", a family in Bethlehem; who are the custodians of these keys until today, even under circumstances of the transient domination of the Zionists.

*Gentlemen*,

Jerusalem has been Islamic since the Father of all Prophets, Ibrahim Al Khalil, has known Islam and pronounced it: as he had said:

"I am the first of all Muslims." He had called us Muslims, and he had inhabited Jerusalem after his journey through the land of Iraq and Syria.

On this earth, there are no Muslims except the Islamic nation. God the Almighty does bequeath the land to whomsoever He wishes; and only those chosen by God shall inherit the earth; and God the Almighty has chosen that the Muslim nation should shoulder this trust. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to adhere steadfastly to this trust. And God the Almighty does not alter the conditions of any people, unless they themselves change. May God protect us from deviation, and from oblivion of this trust in the midst of current world events.

## Islamic Culture and Thought

Allow me now to review the programme of action of the Secretariat. In so doing I try to honour my pledge and to get your approval for our necessary activities in the field of Islamic culture and thought in the coming period, with a view to promoting resolutions taken in our previous conference.

I would like to point out that organizations and institutions are stepping up their activities throughout the Islamic world to consolidate the spirit of Islam and to impress its concepts on our peoples' minds. My thanks go to these institutions wishing them further success. At this particular juncture in our history, the generations of our nation look forward to an Islamic renaissance long awaited by our young people who are known for their instinctive love for construction, and who are now required by our politicians to make Islamic nationalist action attain greater heights thus enabling it to compete with the concepts and aspirations of the non-Muslim youth that have theoretically outstripped us in the field of the so-called contemporary thought whereas in fact they have receded into a second era of

darkness (Jahilia) wherein the generations of our modern world are groping.

The first era of darkness (Jahilia) preceded the advent of Islam. However, the lofty and practical Islamic thought has to be developed at the highest Islamic intellectual levels through the efforts of scholars in Islamic countries. Such lofty thought makes it incumbent on us to study, scrutinize and plan. Muslim experts are required to co-ordinate their efforts to bring about an intellectual upsurge in the proposed fields. This upsurge would be a realization of our nation's hopes in building a broad solid base for this generation and coming ones—such a base should be made up of faithful and thoughtful men capable of leading the Islamic state in the various fields outstepping non-Muslim countries and saving future generations. Such leadership would set an example for those who wish to stem the tide of aberration and perdition and to protect the sons of our contemporary generation against the blind and meaningless limitation of the ways, customs and concepts of non-Muslims.

Therefore I put forward the following proposal:

1. Development of world-wide intellectual activities for Muslim youth. Such activities should aim at enhancing the thought of Muslim youth through debates, meetings, lectures, publications, and scientific, objective and meaningful comparisons. In other words, Islamic thought should be revived among thinkers and intellectuals. Muslim youth throughout the world should get together and absorb sound Islamic concepts and ways of life. In a nutshell, our aim is to revive and develop the lofty Islamic school of thought at the international level.

2. Since the Islamic State in its contemporary renaissance requires university graduates to meet its needs in the fields

of administration, economy, law, sociology, politics and diplomacy, the Islamic Conference recommends the establishment of modern Islamic universities, the development and expansion of existing ones. There must be co-ordination of university programmes in the Islamic countries that may wish so with a view to promoting Islamic thought in the universities, and fulfilling our present requirements.

In this connection the General Secretariat of your august Conference, requests your approval of and support for, two basic projects:

1. Development of the idea of setting up a Council for scholars of the Islamic states at the international level. This idea should be carried out through the Islamic Conference that would be authorized, in collaboration with member states, to establish this organ. The Council will be composed of leading Muslim scholars in the various fields of culture, legislation, codification, administration, economy and all the other requirements of the advanced Islamic State. This projected Council will offer expert opinion to the Islamic nation. It will prepare the integral constitution of the Islamic nation in the various spheres of life. Its profound studies and legislation would be put at the disposal of member countries that may wish to apply this evolutionary Islamic programme in order to bring about the advent of the Islamic State with all her spiritual, moral and practical values.

   Furthermore, the council will take upon itself the task of harmonizing the thinking of our world youth through lectures, planning and studies. The approach adopted should be based on scientific facts and sound application.

2. With your support and help, the General Secretariat wishes to finance the establishment of a number of Islamic universities

on the basis of the concepts outlined before. Each university will constitute a solid nucleus, and will render great services to our present and future generations in the fields of science and culture within the framework of the Islamic State. Thus these universities would be genuine sources of enlightenment and guidance and would contribute towards the edification and development of the cherished Islamic State.

In the light of consultations arranged at the highest level in certain member countries, it has been suggested that we should start by building two universities, the first in Central Africa and the second to be set up in one of the capitals of a member country situated in West Africa. Uganda, as you know, speaks the language of the Quran and English; whereas the West African countries speak the language of the Quran and French.

It is to be hoped that this rising continent will continue its onward march and resist alien thought and foreign ideology.

In my opinion, these genuine intellectual rules are the most important prerequisites for the emergence of the true Islamic society in our world.

The Foreign Ministers Conference held in Benghazi in March 1973 decided to hold a conference in London for the Islamic Cultural Centres, to be followed by similar conferences in other parts of the world if necessary.

The Foreign Ministers Conference also decided to collect information on the problems facing Muslims in the world, and extending aid to them in the different fields so as to render the efforts of the Islamic call more effective.

In implementation of the above-mentioned resolution the Conference of Islamic Cultural Centres was held in London in May 1973.

Discussions and studies in this Conference revealed that there was lack of co-operation among most of the Islamic Cultural Centres in Europe. Most of them were short of funds and did not receive any support from the Islamic countries. Thus a great need was felt for propagating the tenets of Islam and helping Muslim communities in Europe to play this role effectively and fruitfully.

In the above-mentioned Conference it was decided to establish the Islamic Council of Europe to serve as an organ of co-ordination among all Islamic institutions and centres. Besides, it will help propagate the true teachings of Islam throughout Europe. Undoubtedly, the convening of such conferences would result in stepping up the activities of the Islamic Da'awa (call) and propping the Islamic Cultural Centres.

May I request the Conference to allow me to address a direct invitation to the brother member countries to take part in the meeting on the appropriate level a month from now i.e. on the 25th of March 1974. We hope that Ministers concerned with the Islamic call would take part in this Conference and to bring with them their programmes and plans in all fields—cultural, scientific and material so that Allah may guide us to achieve this objective and to undertake our duty in a well-studied and concerted manner on a universal level, in order to implement the Benghazi Resolution regarding the establishment of the Jehad Fund.

We have to mention here that our Organization is so far proceeding according to provisional regulations previously approved until the Organization lays down its final regulations and have them ratified by the Council of Ministers. Consequently, I call upon member countries to take part in a meeting devoted to study the necessary draft rules and regulations for organizing the work of the General Secretariat so as to ratify whatever laws and regulations deemed appropriate by the Foreign Ministers Conference succeeding this Summit Conference. I hope this Conference would be held this year.

## Islamic Economy

World economy has undergone radical and successive phases of evolution. You, gentlemen, are, with the grace of God the masters of events. On the one hand,the Muslim world is at the threshold of phenomenal increase of economic activity and potentialities. It has a colossal surplus of capital collected from utilizing its tremendous natural resources. These facts naturally impose on Islamic countries the duty of keeping abreast of and even forestalling the events of the age:

*First.* Through developing their economies so as to be in keeping with world evolution. In particular there must be intensive studies and careful planning of productive enterprise in a way that safeguards the interests of Islamic countries and peoples.

*Second.* The investment by States and individuals alike of the surplus capital aforementioned with the purpose of augmenting it for the good of all Islamic States and peoples and, naturally, of the contributing individuals.

In the absence of such development and planning, the world monopolies, on the basis of extensive studies of the far-reaching outcome of the evolution of world economy and the reflection thereof on the Muslim world, in particular the area of the Middle East, have started to exert their utmost efforts to control anew the movements of surplus capital in the region to absorb it and to restore it to the organizations and banks run by world monopolies. The ultimate aim from all this turmoil is to partially use a limited percentage of the surplus for the benefit of the Islamic world. This is sheer pretence; practically the bulk of our surplus capital will be used to shore up world monopolies and their homelands.

We certainly do not exceed current facts if we declare that in certain recent conferences clues are abundant that some countries

have already moved in this direction, so perilous for the economies of the Muslim world and the surplus capital it enjoys.

## The Sound Way of Investment of Islamic Capital

Member nations have forestalled current events in world economy and arranged here in Pakistan in 1970 that Islamic economy and its development for the benefit of all our nations would be comprehensively studied. Important research works were presented and were given due attention by the Second Conference of the Foreign Ministers convened in Karachi, in December 1970. The Arab Republic of Egypt was charged with an equally comprehensive study of the International Islamic Bank. In compliance of this decision eighteen member countries convened in Cairo in 1972, and in their meetings there were prepared extensive Islamic economic studies including the soundest ways of investing public capital in the interest of Muslim nations.

We may point out from those studies the sound principles and ways of investing surplus capital in the Muslim world in accordance with the principles of Shari'a.

Following is a summing up of those principles:

*First*

To bring all banking investment dealings within the framework of the Shari'a so that a system of sharing profit would be the Islamic substitute of the banking business based on Rib'a (non-mutual benefit). This safeguards mutual benefit of profit for book debtors and creditors.

*Second*

To guarantee the investment of Islamic surplus capital by using extreme care in selecting the projects for the investments. There

must be set up a system of follow-up supervision and technical aid for the undertaken projects. Such capital as invested in those projects should not be subject to nationalisation, confiscation or sequestration. This principle has already been recognized by the Arab League of Nations.

*Third*

To help surplus capital flow in Islamic countries and to encourage their investment, exchange and current usage. If not used it must be subject to the Zakkat. In this we, Muslims, adopt two principles:

(a) priority of benefit from capital to the Umma;
(b) profiting from and not losing capital.

*Fourth*

To invest Muslim capital in purely Muslim enterprises or to co-operate with non-Muslim countries on equal basis. In doing so, the Muslim countries adopt the principles of collective and not individual investment and of collective projects not monopolies.

*Fifth*

The depositing of Muslim capital in non-Muslim Banks on basis of Rib'a is sinful according to Shari'a. These banks are controlled by people who wage a constant war on the Umma and hence are deemed by Fiqah enemies of Islam. This is further proved by the nature of the world banking system which leans heavily towards Zionism. Depositing Islamic capital in such banks weakens the Umma. We should plan to extricate our capital from foreign banks and restore it to the field of Islamic investment. This should be regarded as duty and may be done in stages if necessary.

*Sixth*

Muslim individuals and States alike should not waive the profits of their capital deposited in foreign banks. According to Islamic

jurisprudence and on basis of the practical principle that a trivial act may nullify a major harm. Muslims should cash these profits and deposit them as part of public funds to be used for the general benefit of the Muslims, despite the fact that such act may seem disguised Rib'a (Usury).

*Seventh*

To enhance international Islamic trade to ensure that the returning net profits would benefit all the Umma.

*Eighth*

The Muslim Treasury should perform its duties as the pivot for the reconstruction of the Islamic society with the aim of preserving Muslim dignity, supporting the Jehad in its widest sense and working on the basis of sound creed and faith towards raising the living standards of Islamic nations.

*Ninth*

To secure funds for the Muslim Treasury through the practical application of spending on the ways of God which have been mentioned in many verses of Al-Quran as the highest and most binding of duties the performing of which is indispensable for the survival of the Umma.

The Muslim banks should in particular come to the rescue of Muslim nations suffering disasters in a way that revives the glorious days of the Caliphate of Omar Ibn Al-Khatab, may God bless his soul, when the establishment of the first Islamic State signalled the zenith of Muslim dignity. The great Caliph said, addressing the people: "Whoever seeks to ask about Al-Quran he should come to Ubayy Ibn Ka'b; whoever seeks to ask about Ordinances he should come to Zayd Ibn Thabit; whoever seeks to ask about the Fiqah, he should



King Faisal of Saudi Arabia calls on President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry at Lahore.

President Idi Amin of Uganda calls on President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry at Lahore.





*Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization calls on President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry of Pakistan at Lahore.*



*President Anwar Sadat of Egypt calls on Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto before leaving Lahore.*



*President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria receives Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at his residence at Lahore.*



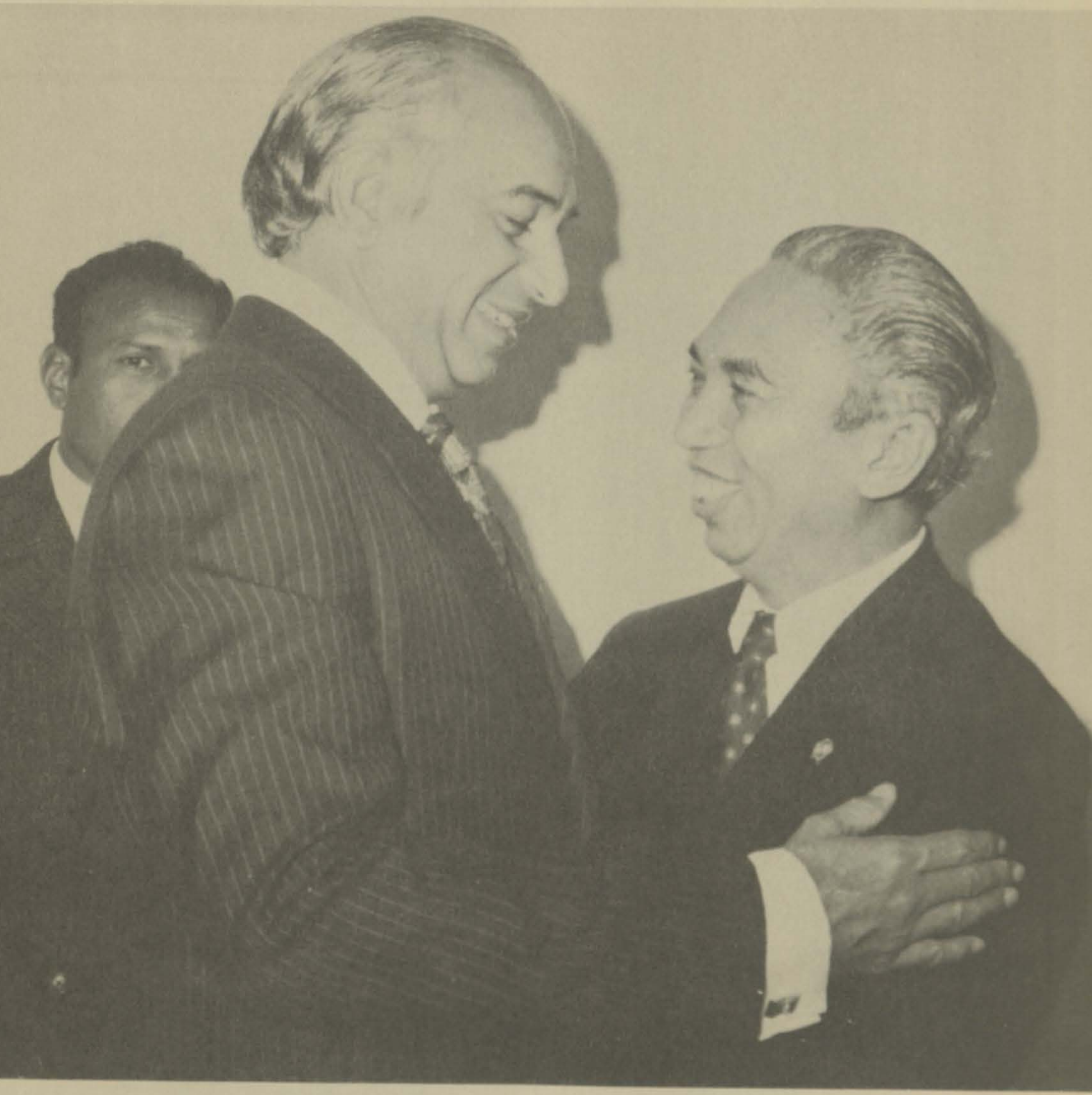
*President Hafez Al-Assad of Syria receives Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at his residence at Lahore.*



*Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan calls on President Col. Muammer El Qaddafi of the Libyan Arab Republic at Lahore.*



*Sheikh Sabah As Salem As Sabah, Emir of Kuwait called on Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at Lahore.*



*The Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr. Adam Malik calls on Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at Lahore.*

come to Mu'az Ibn Jabal; whoever seeks to ask about the Treasury he should come to me, for God has ordained that I would be its guardian and distributor."

He also said, "This public Treasure is soundly used only in three ways: that it be taken justly, given justly and is protected from falsehood." He also said, "Every Muslim has his own share in this public treasure," meaning the Treasury.

Caliph Omar, may God bless his soul, used to allot one-tenth of the surplus capital to support the Jehad and feed the needy as well as enhance the State.

Following the model of the Great Omar, we recommend that one tenth of Muslim surplus capital be invested in projects in the Islamic world.

In the interest of practical application of the principles mentioned above, a Conference of the Ministers of Finance of Islamic States convened in Jeddah on December 15, 1973, where a Declaration was signed announcing the unanimous agreement to establish the Islamic Bank for Development and Investment. The Conference charged a Preparatory Committee of experts from the member countries with the task of preparing the documents of the Bank. The Committee met for the first time immediately after the termination of the Conference of Ministers of Finance. It met again on February 10, 1974, when plans for the establishment of an Islamic World Organization for Development and Investment were submitted to the Committee. The Organization is meant to co-ordinate and plan productive enterprise in the Muslim world for the benefit of all the Umma. The principles on which the Organization is to be established are:

(1) The Organization would, on the basis of Shari'a, undertake to deal with all types of financing operations by using the

surplus capital available in Islamic countries. The Organization would invest capital in projects for the development of the resources of the Muslim world in various fields whether industrial, commercial, agricultural or connected with public service sectors.

(2) The Organization would serve as consultants for the projects carried out in the Muslim world and would provide studies and technical research necessary for those projects.

(3) To establish an Islamic Treasury that would finance social programmes that aim at raising the standards of the Muslims and supporting their Jehad. A special fund for social services in the Muslim world should be established by the Organization.

(4) The membership of the Organization should not be limited to States. It should include individuals and groups so as to reflect perfect Islamic economic solidarity.

I suggest that your august Conference would support the Islamic World Organization for Development and Investment with a capital of several million of international monetary units to make it at par with its obligations towards the Muslim world. This I suggest could be done after the Preparatory Committee is ready with the required documents.

The establishment of the Organization and its support is a practical way of expressing Islamic solidarity in the world of realities. Many nations look forward to this historic decision in the march of the Islamic as well as world economy, a decision meant to preserve our resources, develop them and use them in the most constructive way.

## The International Islamic News Agency

In pursuance of the resolution adopted by the Foreign Ministers of the Islamic Conference, the Secretariat has prepared a comprehensive plan for the establishment of the International Islamic News Agency, taking into consideration that its establishment is the suitable solution for the problems encountered by the Islamic world in the field of information on a universal scale and in order to reinforce the ties among Member-States and to concert its dispersed efforts in the sphere of information.

This integral study—from the technical and financial point of view—emphasised the pressing need to secure a total sum of money, of no less than two million dollars to be used for the construction of a central station for transmission and another one for reception, apart from five centres to be established in South-East Asia, the Middle East, West Africa, Europe and the United States.

The General Secretariat cannot fulfil its cherished role in the sphere of information, without the implementation of this plan, which we put in full details—at the disposal of Member-States in order to finance it.

## The Islamic Minorities in Non-Muslim Countries

The question of Islamic minorities in non-Muslim countries has been awarded much attention in the Fourth Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference held in Benghazi in March 1973. The Conference expressed its deep concern, because some Muslim minorities in non-Muslim States do not enjoy their political and religious rights enshrined in international laws and institutions. Therefore, the Conference appealed to the States in which there are Islamic minorities to respect these minorities, their cultures, and their beliefs, and to grant them their due rights according to the Charter of the United Nations and

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Conference appealed also to the Islamic States to extend aid to those minorities, in order to elevate their religious, cultural and social standards.

I am quite sure that the topic of the Islamic minorities will be given full care and attention from your august Conference. The bad and unfavourable conditions of these minorities call for urgent build up of the Jehad Fund through contributions so that it may be able to fulfil its mission in extending material assistance to Muslim minorities.

## The Situation of Muslims in Philippines

The problem of the Muslims in Philippines was previously considered by the Third Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference (held in Jeddah, March 1972). The Conference resolved to exert good offices with the Philippines government in order to safeguard the safety of its Muslim citizens.

The Fourth Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference (held in Benghazi, March 1973) has considered this topic and expressed its deep concern over the acts of oppression and genocide to which the Muslims of South Philippines are subjected. The Conference demanded of the Philippines Government to put an end immediately to these actions and to provide security and protection to the Muslims and to repatriate the refugees and to stop the systematic Christian immigration coming from the north.

The Conference also resolved to establish a fund to which the Islamic governments will contribute, in order to extend aid to the Muslims there. Furthermore, the Conference resolved to send a delegation on the level of Foreign Ministers to the Philippines to discuss with its government the condition of Muslims there and to inform the Member-States of the results.

The delegation visited the Philippines, investigated the condition of the Muslims there in order to inform the Member-States of the results.

The delegation which visited the Philippines, investigated the conditions of the Muslims there and found out that the main cause of the problems lies in the extortion of the territories of the Muslims by the Christians of the Philippines. Therefore, the Muslims have fought them trying to defend their territories and their dwellings. This has resulted in large number of Muslim refugees who have fled for their lives. Those who have not been able to escape were put into refugee camps under the supervision of army officers. The delegation revealed that the Muslims lead—generally—a miserable sordid life.

President Marcos of the Philippines told the aforesaid delegation that he had drawn up plans to assist the Muslims. The delegation was able to secure the consent of the government of the Philippines to the establishment of an agency for the relief and rehabilitation for the Muslims of Philippines. The necessary fund for the functioning of the agency in an effective way is estimated to cost five million dollars every year. The agency will perform the following services:

(a) The distribution of food and clothes to the Muslims dwelling in camps in the region of disturbance (their number is estimated at about two million Muslims out of the total number of Muslims there which amounts to seven and a half million).

(b) Securing medical needs and treatment.

(c) Providing mosques and worship houses with teachers to give lessons to children and elders.

Since the President of the Philippines has sent a communication inviting the Conference to establish an institution for the relief and

rehabilitation of the Muslims of Philippines—to which I have alluded before and about which the Secretariat has distributed a comprehensive note, and since the project needs a resolution from your august Conference, I hope that this august Conference would issue the required resolution on the establishment of the aforesaid agency. No doubt that it will be—by the grace of God—when established, something for which the Muslims of Philippines will feel grateful to our Conference. It will reinforce their faith in the solidarity of the great Islamic nation. Apart from the fact that the existence of the universal Islamic community through the Agency of Relief and Rehabilitation of the Muslims of Philippines, which is the direct means for rescuing and caring for them and restoring their dignity, it is meanwhile something which reinforces the Islamic existence in these regions. As a result of this, the Muslim minority will be able to regain its dignity and capability to lead an honourable life until it becomes able to restore all its rights.

## The Modification of the Name of the Organization

*Gentlemen,*

In this atmosphere and under these dominant feelings of the unity of rank, opinion, will and action, I would like, as the Secretary-General of this Organization and who is always doing his best for its good, I would like to submit for your consideration a proposal which is in harmony with the volume, depth and aim of this universal gathering. My proposal is to call our organization—in conformity with its practical constructive spirit at this stage of our history:

"The Organization of Solidarity of Islamic Peoples and States" or "The Organization of Solidarity of Islamic States"

We hope, in conformity with our religion, history and international policy, that certain sections of our Islamic nations which

are not governed by Islamic governments will enjoy their due rights in solidarity and co-operation with us through our Organization. I ask the permission of the Conference to hold a universal meeting for this dear section of the Islamic nations from all over the world and on the highest level of organization, in order to delimit, in the light of this meeting, the suitable forms of Islamic attachment and solidarity with them. Deciding this matter will be one of the tasks and achievements of the Foreign Ministers Conference which will follow this meeting by the grace of God.

## The Summing Up

In the light of this brief report, I can sum up the different activities of your august organization during this year in the following projects which I pray to God to guide you in financing it and help us in shouldering its obligations and responsibilities, and in choosing the experts and employees it needs from Member-States. I depend—after God, glory be to Him—on your support and assistance stemming from your kind appreciation for the importance of this collective work:

(1) Establishing an International Islamic News Agency and putting its programme into effect. This requires two million dollars for construction and equipment and half a million dollars annually for functioning. Therefore the sum needed for this year is 2.5 million dollars.

(2) Holding a universal meeting on the highest level for experts in instruction and education and the administration of universities of international standing to provide us with the studies necessary for our success and the concentration of experience necessary for the immediate implementation by the Secretariat of the construction of two Islamic universities in Africa, and to give the chance to other

Universities in other Islamic countries to take advantage of these studies in order to develop their own programmes.

Our dear rising Africa would expect us to fulfil our obligations in establishing these institutions in order to raise the standard of the Islamic life all over the Continent. To begin this project, a sum of ten million dollars is required, besides another million for the recruitment of experts and the enlargement of the cultural department and the holding of conferences for this purpose in Jeddah or other Islamic capitals.

(3) The taking of complementary steps for the establishment of the world Islamic Organization for Development and Investment and to enable the next meeting of the Islamic Conference of Ministers of Finance to approve the establishment of this organization in the light of the subscriptions from Member-States for its capital and the urgent need of the Islamic world for it, as it is the basic practical prop of Islamic solidarity at the present stage.

Our distinguished conference is requested to authorize the next meeting of Ministers of Finance to approve the establishment of our world Islamic financial organization. We hope this will be put into effect in the next three months at the most.

(4) Providing adequate financial credits for the establishment of the Council of the Ulama'a of the Muslim nation so that it may begin the exercise of its aforementioned functions. The Islamic Secretariat plans to establish a welfare body for the Muslim youth in the world. This great project, which is of great importance for this

generation, is estimated to require a million dollars for this year.

(5) Urgent convention of a meeting of specialists in the propagation of Islam on a world level and the establishment of Jehad Fund as a preliminary step for the definition of the tasks of that fund in accordance with the previous resolutions and putting them into effect wherever possible. Subscription to this fund is open with no restrictions in accordance with the progress of the plan of action in all fields of Jehad as mentioned earlier in this connection.

(6) Convention of an urgent meeting of specialists in drafting of regulations to approve, if possible, and in the light of the response of Member-States, the regulations of the organization before the meeting of the Conference of Foreign Ministers next May.

(7) Caring for the affairs of cultural centres and organizations in Europe, and the establishment of two cultural centres in the continent. This is estimated to cost a million dollars in the first year followed by five millions the following year, as is required by the construction plan of these two centres. Besides, the existing centres should be cared for, and the cultural activities should be resumed in America and Africa.

(8) The establishment of a building which can accommodate the Secretariat-General in its development programme, following the example of other world organizations so that it may meet the requirements of the plan of Islamic solidarity now and in future.

This project is estimated to cost two million dollars, half of which will be used up in the first year in accordance

with the progress of the plan of construction. We fully appreciate the hosting by the Saudi Government of the Secretariat-General since its establishment.

(9) The reinforcement of the budget of the Secretariat-General with credits to promote work and to help in the appointment of necessary Assistant Secretaries-General, Directors and experts to shoulder reponsibilities in the Secretariat.

We propose as annual minimum budget for the Secretariat, two million dollars (or the equivalent) instead of 640,000 dollars in accordance with the present scale of contributions of which only two have been paid to the Secretariat. All contributions paid to the Islamic Secretariat since its establishment to the present time constitute no more than 48% of assessed contributions.

We also propose to invite voluntary contributions to be paid directly to the Secretariat by individuals, organizations and Islamic States which desire and are able to contribute in the aforementioned projects which are of great benefit for Muslims and which will consolidate the real and firm solidarity between them.

*Majesties, Excellencies,*

In the light of the approval by the Conference of the aforementioned activities, credits required for this year will total dollars 18.5 million.

Accordingly, I request and invite Member-States able to give contributions for the fulfilment of these projects to provide, in addition to their assessed contributions, other contributions for the execution of the aforementioned projects, as the present and following

years are to be considered a period of establishment and construction which heralds a new stage in the history of the revival and solidarity of our noble Islamic nation.

This organization of yours, which derives its strength from your existence, is in need of adequate support to shoulder its responsibilities to satisfy the hopes pinned on it by the Islamic nation and consequently on you, leaders of this noble nation.

We are at the threshold of a great Islamic nation. This is a part of our history and there is evidence that it will be the responsibility of our generation to lay the foundations of that divine structure by the help and will of Almighty God.

Peace be on you.

# DECLARATION OF LAHORE

## Second Islamic Summit, February 24, 1974

*In the Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.*

The Kings, Heads of State and Government and Representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan, Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic, State of Bahrain, People's Republic of Bangladesh, Republic of Chad, Arab Republic of Egypt, Republic of Gabon, Gambia, Republic of Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Republic of Indonesia, Empire of Iran, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Kingdom of Morocco, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, State of Kuwait, Republic of Lebanon, Arab Republic of Libya, Malaysia, Republic of Mali, Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Republic of Niger, Sultanate of Oman, Islamic Republic of Pakistan, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, State of Qatar, Senegal, Republic of Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of Somalia, Democratic Republic of Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Republic of Tunisia, Republic of Turkey, Republic of Uganda, State of United Arab Emirates, The Yemen Arab Republic, Palestine, represented by the PLO, the Representative of the Republic of Iraq attending as an Observer, met at the Second Islamic Conference held in Lahore from 22 to 24 February, 1974. The Secretary-General of Arab League, delegation of Motamar-Al-Alam-Al-Islami, and Secretary-General of Rabita-ul-Alam-i-Islami attended as guests. The Patriarch of Antioch and All Orient also attended the Summit Conference.

II

The Kings, Heads of State and Government and the Representatives of the Islamic countries and Organizations proclaimed:

1. The conviction that their common Faith is an indissoluble bond between their peoples; that the solidarity of the Islamic peoples is based, not on hostility towards any other human communities nor on distinctions of race and culture, but on the positive and eternal precepts of equality, fraternity and dignity of man, freedom from discrimination and exploitation and struggle against oppression and injustice.

2. Their identification with the joint struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for social and economic progress and prosperity of all nations of the world.

3. Their desire that their endeavours in promoting world peace based on freedom and social justice will be imbued with the spirit of amicability and co-operation with other Faiths, in accordance with the tenets of Islam.

4. Their determination to preserve and promote solidarity among Muslim countries, to respect each other's independence and territorial integrity, to refrain from interference in each other's internal affairs, to resolve their differences through peaceful means in a fraternal spirit and, wherever possible, to utilize the mediatory influence or good offices of fraternal Muslim State or States for such resolution.

5. Their appreciation of the heroic role played by the front-line States and the Palestinian Resistance in the Ramadhan

war, as well as of the Arab effort and Muslim solidarity which became more prominent at that decisive stage.

6. Their appreciation for the activities of the Islamic Conference and its Secretariat which will continue to be the vehicle for their dedication in promoting close and fraternal co-operation among themselves, and in their other joint endeavours.

III

Having considered the present situation in the Middle East they declared that:

1. The Arab cause is the cause of all countries which oppose aggression and will not suffer the use of force to be rewarded by territory or any other gains;

2. Full and effective support should be given to the Arab countries to recover, by all means available, all their occupied lands;

3. The cause of the people of Palestine is the cause of all those who believe in the right of a people to determine its own destiny by itself and by its free will;

4. The restitution of the full national rights of the Palestinian peoples in their homeland is the essential and fundamental condition for a solution to the Middle East problem and the establishment of lasting peace on the basis of justice;

5. The international community and particularly those States which sponsored the partition of Palestine in 1947, bear the heavy responsibility to redress the injustice perpetrated on the Palestinian people;

6. Al-Quds is a unique symbol of the confluence of Islam with the sacred divine religions. For more than 1,300 years, Muslims have held Jerusalem as a trust for all who venerate it. Muslims alone could be its loving and impartial custodians for the simple reason that Muslims alone believe in all the three prophetic religions rooted in Jerusalem. No agreement, protocol or understanding, which postulates the continuance of Israeli occupation of the Holy City of Jerusalem or its transfer to any non-Arab sovereignty or makes it the subject of bargaining or concessions will be acceptable to the Islamic countries. Israeli withdrawal from Jerusalem is a paramount and unchangeable prerequisite for lasting peace in the Middle East;

7. The constructive efforts undertaken by the Christian Churches, all over the world and in the Arab countries, notably in Lebanon, Egypt, Jordan and Syria to explain the Palestinian question to the international public opinion and to the world religious conferences and to solicit their support for Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem and other holy places in Palestine should be appreciated;

8. Any measure taken by Israel to change the character of the occupied Arab territories and in particular of the Holy City of Jerusalem is a flagrant violation of international law and is repugnant to the feelings of the Member-States of the Islamic Conference and of the Islamic world in general;

9. Those African and other countries which have taken an honourable and firm position in support of the Arab cause are worthy of the highest appreciation;

10. The present trends towards a just peace cannot but concentrate on the roots of the question and disengagement

cannot be viewed but as a step towards the complete Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories and the full restitution of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

IV

Having considered the world economic situation and in particular that obtaining in the Islamic countries in the light of the addresses made by the Heads of State and Government and especially those made by the President of the Summit Conference, the President of Algeria and the President of Libya and realising the need for

(i) eradication of poverty, disease and ignorance from the Islamic countries;

(ii) ending exploitation of developing countries by the developed countries;

(iii) regulating the terms of trade between developed countries and developing countries in the matters of supply of raw materials and import of manufactured goods and know-how;

(iv) ensuring the sovereignty and full control of the developing countries over their natural resources;

(v) mitigating current economic difficulties of the developing countries due to recent increase in prices;

(vi) mutual economic co-operation and solidarity among Muslim countries;

They decided to establish a Committee consisting of the representatives and experts of Algeria, Egypt, Kuwait, Libya, Pakistan,

Saudi Arabia, Senegal and United Arab Emirates with power to co-opt other interested Muslim countries, for devising ways and means for the attainment of the above objectives and for the welfare of the peoples of the member countries. They directed that the Committee should commence its work immediately and submit its proposals to the next Conference of Foreign Ministers for immediate consideration and action.

This Committee will meet in Jeddah, at the invitation of the Secretary-General who shall fix a date for the meeting not later than one month after the conclusion of the present Summit Conference.

V

The Kings, Heads of State and Government and the Representatives approved resolutions on Jerusalem, Middle East and Palestinian cause, Muslim Solidarity Fund, Development and International Economic Relations and other matters. These are annexed to this Declaration and all form an integral part of it.

VI

In furtherance of these and other common objectives, they direct their representatives at the United Nations and other international bodies to consult together with a view to adopting joint and agreed positions.

# RESOLUTIONS

## The Middle East and the Palestinian Cause

### Resolution adopted by the Conference of Kings, Heads of State and Government of Islamic countries on February 24, 1974

The Second Islamic Summit Conference held in Lahore from 22 to 24 February, 1974 (29 Moharram to 1 Safar, 1394),

*Recalling* the Declaration adopted by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of Islamic Countries held in Rabat from 9 to 12 Rajab (22 to 25 September 1969) and the resolutions adopted by Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers on the issue of Palestine and the Middle East crisis,

*Inspired* by the principles and provisions of the Charter of the Islamic Conference and that of the United Nations,

*Noting* with appreciation and pride the heroic sacrifices made by the Palestinian people and the front-line Arab countries facing the Zionist aggressor,

*Having considered* the recent developments in the Middle East and the serious situation resulting from the continued Israeli occupation of the territories of three sister Arab States members of the Islamic Conference Organization, the continued usurpation of the land of Palestine and the expulsion of its people,

*Considering* that this situation constitutes a violation of the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights seriously jeopardising international peace and security,

*Affirming* that the acquisition by Israel of Arab territories through war and the use of force is inadmissible and constitutes a flagrant violation of the objectives and principles of the United Nations posing a serious threat to world peace and jeopardising the security, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Arab States,

*Reaffirming* the legitimate character of the struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionist racist colonialism and for the restoration of their legitimate national rights, and above all for the right to return to their homeland and to self-determination,

*Expressing* its deep concern over Israel's persistence in judaizing Jerusalem and altering its demographic, religious, historical, social, cultural and economic character in violation of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in this respect and the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949,

*Considering* that the support given by the member countries of the Islamic Conference to their sister Arab States in their struggle to recover all occupied territories and to restore the legitimate national rights of the people of Palestine, is a duty imposed by Muslim solidarity which should take a concrete and effective form,

*Convinced* that the military, economic, political and moral support given to Israel by some countries, particularly the USA, enables it to pursue the execution of its policy of aggression and to consolidate its occupation of Arab territories,

*Considering* that maintaining relations with Israel in the political, economic, commercial, communications and other fields,

would enable it to consolidate its occupation of Arab lands and to persist in the execution of its expansionist policy,

1. *Decides:*

   (a) *To give* full and effective support to Egypt, Syria, Jordan and the Palestinian people in their legitimate struggle for recovering all their occupied lands by all means;

   (b) *To take* action in all fields to force Israel to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from all the Arab territories occupied since June 1967, and undertakes to adopt every adequate measure to bring about that withdrawal;

2. *Requests* all states to support, by all means, the people of Palestine in their struggle against Zionist, racist and settlers' colonizations and for the restoration of their full national rights, and confirms that the restoration of these rights is a *sine qua non* for the establishment of a just and lasting peace;

3. *Reaffirms* that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian nation in its just struggle;

4. *Requests* Member-States where no PLO offices exist as yet to provide all facilities towards that end in conformity with the resolutions of previous Islamic Conferences;

5. *Proclaims* the strong attachment of Muslims to the Holy City of Jerusalem and the firm determination of their governments to liberate it and to restore Arab sovereignty

over it and that Jerusalem should not be the subject of bargaining or concessions;

6. *Condemns* Israel's violation of human rights in the occupied Arab territories, its rejection to implement the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the protection of civilians during war and its policy of judaizing the very nature and cultural character of the occupied territories; and consider that such Israeli practices are war crimes and a challenge to humanity at large;

7. *Regards* as null and void all the measures—and their effects—taken by Israel to change the demographic, geographical, social, cultural and economic character of the occupied Arab territories, including those designed to annex and judaize the Holy City of Jerusalem;

8. *Condemns* all States that provide Israel with military, economic and human assistance and requests them to put an end to this practice immediately;

9. *Hails* the constructive initiatives of sister African countries, Member-States of the Organization of African Unity, as well as of other friendly countries in supporting Arab rights and severing diplomatic relations with Israel;

10. *Calls upon* Member-States of the Islamic Conference to continue their support of African causes and their struggle against colonialism and racist regimes, particularly in Rhodesia, South Africa and the Portuguese colonies and to put an end to all forms of co-operation and dealings with these regimes, in particular to stop all shipments of oil and prevent any derogation to that rule;

11. *Calls upon* Member-States which still have relations with Israel to sever these relations in all fields, thus supporting Islamic solidarity;

12. *Calls upon* the representatives of all Member-States to co-ordinate their activities in international forums so as to ensure the implementation of these resolutions;

13. *Requests* the Secretary-General to follow up the implementation of these resolutions and to report to the Conference thereon.

## Annex II

## Jerusalem

## Resolution adopted by the Conference of Kings, Heads of State and Government of Islamic countries on February 24, 1974

## The Second Islamic Summit

*Reaffirming* its commitment to the resolutions of the First Islamic Summit and of the preceding conferences of Islamic Foreign Ministers concerning Al-Quds, the Holy City of Jerusalem,

*Recalling*, once again, the deep attachment of the Muslims to the Holy City of Jerusalem which for them is the First Qibla and the third holiest shrine,

*Considering* that Israel's continued occupation of Jerusalem and its attempts to annex and judaize it, in defiance of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the acts of destruction and profanation of the Holy Places that have occurred under its occupation, have exacerbated tensions in the Middle East and aroused indignation among peoples throughout the world,

*Aware* of the necessity to safeguard the spiritual and moral values symbolized by the sacred shrines in the Holy City of Jerusalem,

*Noting* the United Nations General Assembly resolutions 2253 (ES-V) and 2254 (ES-V) and Security Council resolutions 250 (1968), 251 (1968), 267 (1969), 271 (1969), 298 (1971) on Jerusalem and in particular resolution 252 (1968) which expressly enunciate the principle that acquisition of territory by the use of force is inadmissible,

1. *Condemns* the measures taken by Israel to judaize the Holy City of Jerusalem and its refusal to comply with the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council demanding that all measures purporting to annex the Holy City of Jerusalem to Israel or to change the religious and historical character of Jerusalem be rescinded and considered as being null and void;

2. *Calls* for the immediate withdrawal of Israel from the Holy City of Jerusalem;

3. *Declares* that the restoration of the Holy City of Jerusalem to Arab sovereignty is a paramount and unchangeable prerequisite for any solution in the Middle East and that any solution which does not restore this position will not be acceptable to the Islamic countries, and rejects any attempt to internationalize it;

4. *Decides* to continue the struggle for the liberation of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the preservation of holy shrines and insists that it should not become the object of any bargaining or concessions, and welcomes any friendly effort for this purpose.

**Annex III**

## Development and International Economic Relations

### Resolution adopted by The Second Summit Conference on February 24, 1974

*Having regard* to the objectives and principles of the Charter of the Islamic Conference and in particular their common goal: "To consolidate co-operation among Member-States in the economic, social, cultural, scientific and other vital fields of objectives, and to carry out consultations among Member-States in international organizations."

*Considering* that the Islamic countries are part of the community of developing countries,

*Considering* further the determination of the Member-States to work towards their liberation and that of other countries of the Third World from the inequities governing international relations aimed at perpetuating the exploitation of the resources of these countries to the benefit of the developed countries,

*Given* the absence of political will on behalf of the developed countries to implement measures which behove upon them to put an end to this intolerable situation,

*Declares* that it is necessary for Islamic countries to resort first and foremost to the mobilization and to the revalorisation of

their national resources, to ensure the economic and social welfare of their people,

*Decides* that the Member-States of the Conference will extend to one another their support and solidarity in their respective national endeavours aimed at securing the mobilization of their resources for development purposes,

*Calls upon* all developing countries to unite their efforts in order to establish new international economic relations which would be more equitable and more balanced,

*Approves* the convening of an extraordinary session of the General Assembly of the U.N. devoted to the problems of economic development, with a view to establishing a new framework of relations based on equality and on the common interest of all States,

*Recommends* to Member-States of the Conference to intensify their efforts at this extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly and within other international forums to reinforce and consolidate the present trend towards securing national control over natural resources of developing countries and towards their revalorisation,

*Recommends* to all the countries of the Third World to beware of manoeuvres aimed at dividing the developing countries in exploitation of their resources.

## Expression of Appreciation for Tunku Abdul Rahman, the First Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat

## Resolution adopted by the Conference of the Kings, Heads of State and Government on February 24, 1974

The Kings, Heads of State and Government meeting in the Second Islamic Summit, in Lahore, Pakistan, on 22-24 February, 1974,

*Noting* with satisfaction the progress achieved by the Islamic Conference and its Secretariat,

*Noting further* the report submitted by the first Secretary-General, H. E. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Haj,

*Express* their highest appreciation and gratitude to H.E. Tunku Abdul Rahman for his active services in the work of the Conference and its Secretariat during his tenure of office as Secretary-General.

Annex V

## Date and venue of the next Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers

## Resolution adopted by the Conference of the Kings, Heads of State and Government on February 24, 1974

The Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers meeting in Lahore from 19-20 February, 1974,

*Having noted* that Afghanistan has regretted that it is not ready to host the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Islamic Conference,

*Having heard* of Malaysia's desire to host this annual session; and having noted with appreciation the generosity of Saudi Arabia to accommodate this desire,

*Decides* to hold the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Islamic Conference in Kuala Lumpur in May 1974 or soon thereafter,

*Thanks* the Government of Malaysia for its kind offer and readiness to host the meeting.

**Annex VI**

## Decision taken by the Conference of Kings, Heads of State and Government of Islamic countries on February 24, 1974

### Islamic Solidarity Fund

The Second Islamic Summit Conference held in Lahore from 29 Moharram to 1 Safar, 1394 (22-24 February, 1974),

*Decided* to establish a Fund to be called an Islamic Solidarity Fund to meet the needs and requirements for Islamic unity, Islamic causes, enhancement of Islamic culture and values and universities. Contributions will be made by Member-States according to their capacity.

Annex VII

## Tribute to His Excellency Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the People of Pakistan.

## Resolution adopted by the Second Islamic Summit on February 24, 1974

The Second Islamic Summit Conference held in Lahore,

*Noting* the invitation extended by His Excellency Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and His Majesty King Faisal Ibn Abd El Aziz of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Kings and Heads of State of the Islamic world to convene this conference in a bid to consolidate the spirit of Islamic solidarity among them, for supporting the causes of right, justice and independence; and noting the praiseworthy efforts exerted by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to make of this important Conference a success,

*Decides*

1. *To pay tribute* to His Excellency Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan for the great role he has played to achieve the objectives of the Conference;

2. *To pay tribute* to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, government and people, in recognition of the wonderful efforts and arrangements taken for the fulfilment of the objectives of this Conference, held at a decisive period of the history of Islamic peoples.

## MESSAGES FROM THE PARTICIPATING DELEGATES

The Delegates who attended the Second Islamic Summit Conference were deeply impressed by the warmth and hospitality of the friendly people of Pakistan. Many said that they were carrying unforgettable memories with them. The elaborate arrangements and the smooth running of the whole operation made a very lasting impression on the visitors.

Some extracts from a selection of messages sent to the President or the Prime Minister of Pakistan by the participating Delegates on or after their departure after the Conference are reproduced here.

**Mr. Takieddin Solh,**
**Prime Minister of Lebanon**

I am leaving this great land, I cannot help but express to Your Excellency my profound appreciation for the memorable hospitality and warmth of reception from yourself and great people of Pakistan. I return to my country full of aspiration and love for the strong faith and enthusiasm of your people which we witnessed wherever we went. I would like to express to Your Excellency, my heartfelt congratulations for the success of the Islamic Summit and tremendous impact it has created which has enhanced not only the prestige of Pakistan but also the entire Muslim world.

**Al Haj Mufti Aminul Husseini,**
**Grand Mufti of Palestine, Leader of the Delegation of Motamar Alam-Al-Islami**

On my personal behalf and on behalf of the members of the Motamar Delegation to the Islamic Summit Conference, I offer our deepest appreciation and warmest congratulation on the successful conclusion of the historic Summit Conference. We are sure Your Excellency will use your influence to keep up the spirit of the Summit both for the good of Pakistan and for the world of Islam.

**Mr. Mohammed Saleh Al Qazzaz,**
**Secretary-General of Rabita-Al-Alam-Al-Islami**

The Delegation of the Muslim World League, having returned to the precincts of the ancient and Sacred House, wish to convey to Your Excellency their sincere thanks and appreciation of the constructive and devoted efforts that you have personally made towards the success of the Conference and the gratifying results attained thereby. We confirm our heartfelt thanks for the fraternal hospitality that my companions and myself have enjoyed everywhere in the dear Muslim Pakistan.

**Sheikh Sabah AsSalem AsSabah,**
**Amir of Kuwait**

Upon leaving Pakistan after attending the Second Islamic Conference, I wish to express thanks to Your Excellency in my name, on behalf of Mr. Yasser Arafat, and Mr. Mahmoud Riad, Secretary-General of the Arab League, for the cordial welcome and hospitality accorded to us during our stay which has provided a unique opportunity to meet you and get acquainted with your great country and its achievements. At the same time, we wish to express admiration for the active role played by your people and the Government in the success



rime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto talks to the members of the Moroccan Delegation to the Second Islamic Summit
ho called on him at Lahore with their leader Mr. Ahmed Al Tayeb Ben Hima (Right).

Ir. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak, leader of the Afghan delegation to the Summit delivers a special message to Prime
Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.





*Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto reads a special message from King Hussein of Jordan deliverd by the head of the Jordanian Delegation, Mr. Abdul Monem Al-Rifai.*

*Mr. Habib Chatti, the Foreign Minister of Tunisia calls on Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at Lahore.*

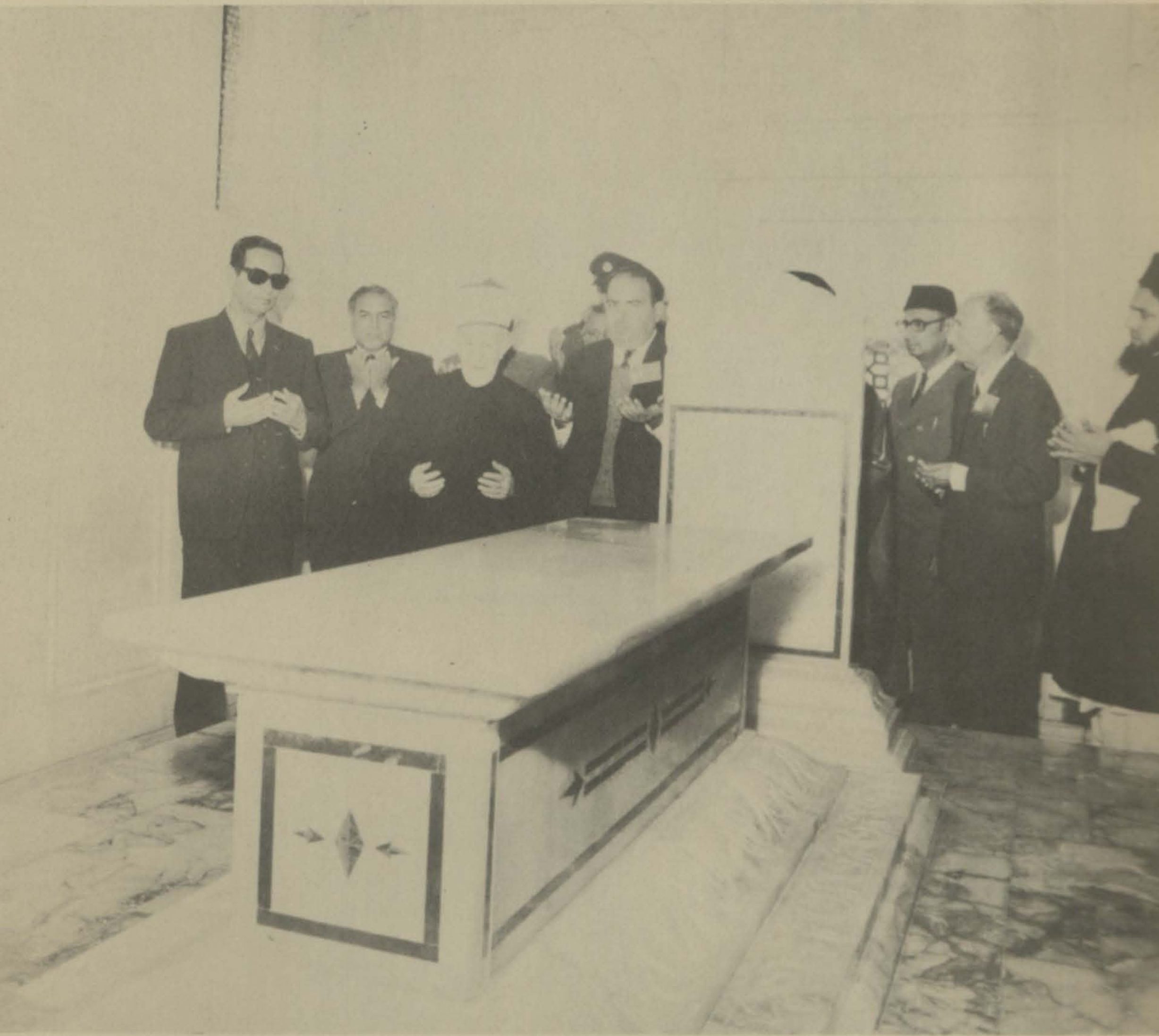




*Tun Abdur Razzak, the Prime Minister of Malaysia calls on Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at Lahore.*

*Al Haj A.B. S. Janneh, Social Welfare Minister of Sierra Leone calls on Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.*





*Al Haj Syed Aminul Hesseini, the Grand Mufti of Palestine offers Fateha at the tomb of his old friend, the Poet-Philosopher of the East, Dr. Allama Iqbal at Lahore.*



*The two sponsors of the Second Islamic Summit—King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto at a banquet given by President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry.*



*President N'grata Tombalbaye of the Republic of Chad arrives at President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry's Banquet.*

*Prime Minister Tun Abdul Razzak was greeted by his host President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry when he came to attend the banquet given by Pakistan's Head of State.*





*Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto talks to President Houari Boumedienne at the banquet given by President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry at the Punjab Governor's House.*



*Another view of the banquet given by President Fazal Elahi Chaudhry at the Punjab Governor's House. Sheikh Isa Bin Salman Al Khalifa of Bahrain, Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al Thani of Qatar, Sheikh Sabah as Salem As Sabah of Kuwait, President Gaffar Mohammed Nimeiri of Sudan and President Hafez Al-Assad of Syria can be seen in this photograph.*

of the Conference which, thanks to your efforts, has achieved positive and tangible results. This historic event will now remain a significant milestone on the road to the solidarity and unity of the Islamic World. The memories of this occasion will remain most cherished in our hearts and hearts of all Muslims. May God guide our steps and lead us to achieve the good of Muslims and glory of Islam.

**El-Qadi Abdul Rahman El-Iryani,**
**President of the Yemen Arab Republic**

While I and my companions depart from your generous country it gives me great pleasure and satisfaction to relay to you the best wishes. I congratulate you and the Government of Pakistan on the success of Islamic Conference under the chairmanship of my brother H.E. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan. I think you will very kindly accept appreciation and I also pray for your health and prosperity. Once again I thank you for the hospitality.

**Mr. Ali Nasser Mohamed,**
**Prime Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen**

While we are leaving the territory of the Republic of Pakistan it pleases the accompanying delegation to extend to you personally and the Pakistani people, our sincere esteem and thanks for the kind hospitality which was afforded to us from the friendly Pakistan people during our stay in your friendly country while attending the Islamic Summit Conference at the historic city of Lahore. My stay in Pakistan has left a deep impression in our hearts and there is no doubt that the friendship and co-operation existing between our two countries and people will grow further. I wish you good health and happiness and the fraternal Pakistani people progress and prosperity.

**Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah,**
**President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania**

I wish on behalf of my delegation, my wife and myself to Your Excellencies and the great people of Pakistan our sincerest gratitude and thanks for the kind hospitality that has been shown to us in the great city of Lahore. We also express our congratulations for the perfect preparations and the success of the Conference to the brotherly people of Pakistan.

**Gen. Gaffar Mohammed Nimeiri,**
**President of Sudan**

It gives me great pleasure to convey my sincere thanks and appreciation for the warm reception and kind fraternal hospitality afforded to us in your great country.

The excellent preparations and organisation of the Conference showed how immense efforts were made to make it a great success that it was. I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to Your Excellency my sincerest thanks and greetings of our goodwill and I am confident that Islamic brotherhood will be strengthened in the years ahead for the unity of our people under the guidance of Allah.

**Dr. Adam Malik,**
**Foreign Minister of Indonesia**

Upon leaving the magnificent city of Lahore at the end of the Second Islamic Summit, I wish to express on behalf of the Indonesian Delegation and on my own behalf, my deep gratitude and highest appreciation to you for the incomparable hospitality which you have extended to us during our entire stay. The warmth and brotherly welcome manifested by the citizens of Lahore has also touched us deeply.

May I also congratulate you on the great success of the Summit Conference which, I am sure, will be accorded its appropriate place in world history. The brotherly solidarity and unity of purpose forged during the Conference will no doubt provide us with a solid foundation upon which to build the edifice of effective mutual co-operation among Muslim nations in the future.

I pray to Allah Subhana wa Ta'ala that He may bless our further efforts towards this common goal.

Assalamu Alaikum wa Rahmatulahi wa Barakatuh.

**Prof. Turan Gunes,**
**Foreign Minister of Turkey**

While leaving Pakistan I would like to express, on my own behalf as well as on behalf of my Delegation, our deep gratitude to Your Excellency and to Your Government for the unforgettable hospitality and warm welcome extended to us.

The Summit Conference bears a unique historical importance in bringing the Islamic world together and demonstrating once again its high moral values to the entire world. Your invaluable endeavours have played a most significant role in crowning this Conference with success.

The Islamic nations are leaving the Conference having created a new world of brotherhood and further strengthening the close ties that bind them. In this new world, I would like to assure you of the unshakable ties existing between Turkey and Pakistan and beg Your Excellency to convey to the brotherly people of Pakistan the deepest love of the Turkish nation.

**Mr. Hafez Al-Assad,**
**President of Syria**

As we leave your territory of your fraternal country I wish to express our wholehearted gratitude for warm welcome and hospitality we were accorded during our stay at Lahore. The warm affection demonstrated by the Pakistani people can only be matched by the high esteem of Your Excellency and the affection of Syrian Arab people towards Pakistan.

I am convinced that our meeting would further strengthen the relations between our two countries.

**Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan,**
**President of the United Arab Emirates**

While leaving your great Islamic city of Lahore, it gives me great pleasure to express through Your Excellency in my name and on behalf of the people of United Arab Emirates, deep gratitude and esteem for the great and positive role you have played in the success of the Summit Islamic Conference which we hope will be a milestone in the world towards the realisation of the good of Islamic nations and in the building of a free and honourable life and of achieving the unity of Islamic world. Your Excellency, please accept my highest consideration and many thanks for you and the brotherly Muslim people of Pakistan. We pray to Allah the Almighty to guide our steps in the service of the great Islamic nation.

**Al-Haj Diori Hamani,**
**President of Niger**

We wish to extend our sincere gratitude to Your Excellency and Prime Minister Bhutto, the Government and people of Pakistan for the warm welcome and hospitality extended to our dignitaries and

ourselves in Second Islamic Summit Conference. The tremendous success of this Conference is due very likely to the devotion of the people of Pakistan due to the cause of Islam under your most able leadership. Please accept Your Excellency our best wishes for your personal good health, peace and prosperity of the people of Pakistan.

**Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre,**
**President of Somali Democratic Republic**

Now as we are leaving the territory of your great country please accept on behalf of myself and our delegation, our gratitude for brotherly hospitality extended to us during memorable stay in the historical city of Lahore.

We and our delegation have had opportunities to witness the organisation and excellent running of all services in the course of the Conference. Such an effort bears testimony to the great capacity of the Chairman for arranging and conducting the Conference with full success.

I take the opportunity to extend to Your Excellency and through you to the brotherly people of Pakistan our best wishes for your health, solidarity and well-being of the friendly people of Pakistan.

**H.M. Sayyid Qaboos Bin Said,**
**Sultan of Oman**

As I have arrived in my own country I wish to seize this opportunity to thank you for your warm welcome and hospitality extended by you and the Government of Pakistan during my stay in Lahore.

**Sheikh Isa Bin Salman Al Khalifa,**
**Amir of Bahrain**

I have the pleasure to express to Your Excellency my profound thanks and high regards for the warm reception and hospitality

extended to us, the memory of which is still fresh in our mind. I wish Your Excellency health and happiness and the brotherly people of Pakistan continued progress and prosperity. Pray to Allah to give us success in all the matters wherein lie the interest of the peoples of Muslim world.

**Mr. Abdul Monem Rifai,**
**Adviser to King Hussein of Jordan**

We have never felt at any other international meeting the might and glory of Islam which we felt at the Pakistan Summit, both inside and outside the meetings. Brotherhood was the keynote of Conference and Jordan's relations with Arab and other delegations, without exception, were friendly. We express our deep thanks to people and government of Pakistan for their efforts.

## MESSAGES FROM WORLD STATESMEN

Since the Islamic Summit at Lahore was a major news event of the year, it was quite natural that the statesmen of the world would take notice of it.

Some of the messages received on the occasion are reproduced here.

### Message from Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General, United Nations

I wish to convey my warmest greetings to the extraordinary meeting of Islamic Heads of State and Government which convenes in Lahore from February 22 to 24, 1974. United Nations needs the help and the support of all the leaders and of all great religions of the world, if it is to succeed in solving the very complex problems of peace. This is particularly true of the problems of the Middle East. I am confident that your deliberations will make a significant contribution to the achievements of a just and lasting peace in that region of the world. I send you my best wishes for success.

### Message from Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the State of Kingdom of Cambodia

His Excellency Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President of the Summit Conference of the Islamic countries.

On the occasion of the convening of the Summit Conference of the Islamic countries, please allow me, on behalf of the Cambodian

people, the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Unity of Cambodia and on my own behalf, to convey to Your Excellency, to the illustrious sovereigns, Heads of State and Government and to the distinguished representatives of the participating countries, my greetings and very warm felicitations.

We are delighted at the choice of Lahore the marvellous city rich with the traditions of the struggle for holding this Conference—which is a historic event of great importance.

For a few days the Conference will discuss the problem of the Middle East, which continues to preoccupy the whole world. The Middle East is a typical case where imperialism stubbornly pursues its objective, through its proxy in the region—Israel, of making the Law of Force rule and for perpetuating injustice and oppression at the expense of the Arab States and the Palèstinian people. But the Arabs and the Palestinians, at the time of the war of 6 October, took up the challenge and showed to the whole world the time, when imperialism and Israel acted as the policemen of the regions, has come to an end. The brilliant victories, won by the Arab States and the Palestinian people, are a source of great encouragement and a valuable help to the people engaged in the struggle for defending their liberty and their dignity. The Cambodian people, victim of the same imperialism, convey to them their deep gratitude.

The Lahore Conference has the great distinction of providing the testimony of the solidarity of the Islamic countries with the Arabs and the Palestinians, coming after the solidarity and support manifested, in a massive and spectacular manner, by the African countries. This victory of the Third World, in the joint action for the defence of justice and liberty, is a serious warning to imperialism, colonialism, zionism and racism. At the same time it serves as a powerful pressure against these forces of evil.

We convey our modest but fervent and total support to the marvellous Conference and we wish it a great success in its noble tasks.

I request Your Excellency to accept the assurances of my highest and fraternal considerations.

## Message from Mr. Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada

On the occasion of the meeting of the Heads of Islamic Governments in Lahore, please accept the best wishes of the Canadian Government for a successful conference. We hope that your deliberations will contribute to the establishment of peace and further development of international co-operation.

## Message from Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-Lai of People's Republic of China

On the occasion of the convocation of the Islamic Summit Conference, I wish to extend my warm congratulations. May the Conference make new contributions to the reinforcement of the unity of Islamic countries and peoples, to the unity of the Third World countries and peoples on the basis of defending State sovereignty and protecting national resources, and to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, zionism and racism. May the Conference be crowned with success.

## Message from Willy Brandt Chancellor of Federal Republic of Germany

On behalf of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany I send the Summit meeting of the Islamic countries in Lahore, my greetings and best wishes for the success of its work. May the

results of your consultation contribute towards a solution of the difficult problems in the Middle-East and make peace in the world more secure.

### Message from Prime Minister Mariano Rumor of Republic of Italy

On the occasion of the Islamic Summit of Lahore, I have great pleasure in expressing to Your Excellency, on behalf of the Italian Government, best wishes for the success of the Conference. May your consultations pave the way to the achievement of just and lasting solutions of the problem in which we all are interested and promote the co-operation among the people, thus contributing to the strengthening of the peace in the world.

### Message from President Kim Il Sung of Democratic People's Republic of Korea

I extend, in the name of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Korean people and in my own, my warm congratulations and best wishes to the Heads of State and Government and all the representatives of various countries present at the Conference.

The current Islamic Summit Conference is an event of another important significance in the joint struggle of the peoples of the Third World against imperialism, old and neo-colonialism and zionism and for defence of the national dignity and the country's sovereignty and for peace and social progress.

Proceeding from the commonness of the past position and the present struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for creation of a new life, the Korean people follow with keen interest the current Islamic Summit Conference and express firm solidarity with it.

Believing that your Conference will contribute to safeguarding the common interests and strengthening the solidarity of the peoples

of the Islamic countries who oppose aggression and subordination of all description and take the road of independence, I heartily wish the Conference great success in its mission.

## Message from President Nicolae Ceausescu of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania

I take particular pleasure in extending my cordial greetings to the Heads of State and Government, to the other representatives at the Islamic Summit Conference and in wishing, at the same time, full success to the proceedings of this important international gathering.

Your Conference is held at a time when profound political and social changes are taking place in international affairs, when transforma-ations of a historic significance are taking place, when new forces are asserting themselves, while newly emerging problems require approaches and solutions on new basis, proceeding from the principle of full equality in rights of all peoples and States. The course of international events confirms the growth and intensification of the peoples' struggle against the old policy of domination and dictate of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, in order to establish new relations among States, based on the principles of equal rights and mutual respect, independence and national sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, prohibition of the use or threat of force, the right of every people to decide its own destiny. The scope and depth of the problems affecting the destiny of mankind, the indivisible character of peace and international security cast a clear light on the role which all States irrespective of size, potential, level of development, social system, philosophical or religious beliefs are called upon to play in contemporary world, the vital importance of their active contribution in bringing about solutions consonant with the interests of all peoples.

I express my hope that your Conference in which a great number of states participate will approach contemporary issues proceeding

from the tendency towards international detente, peace and co-operation among peoples and that it will find solutions, including the problem of the Middle East, which should contribute to the assertion of the new course in the international situation.

Romania considers that under the present conditions, new efforts should be made by all States. In this respect she expands her relations with all the socialist countries, with the States which have set out on the path of independent development, with all countries of the world, irrespective of their social and political system.

As a developing country herself, Romania stands and acts firmly for the reduction and liquidation of the economic gaps which represent a permanent source of tension, for the assertion of the right of each people to have free access to their national resources, for the establishment of relations of equality and equity among states, that should ensure the advancement of all peoples on the path of economic and social progress.

Basing herself on these principles and proceeding from the legitimate right of the developing countries to have free access to the achievements of scientific progress and modern technology, Romania appreciates that the problems concerning energy, raw materials, industrial and agricultural products should be discussed and solutions should be found in the United Nations, on the basis of justice and against exploitation. Participating actively in the joint efforts of placing the relations among states in Europe on new principles, my country believes that the achievement of a European security system should serve, at the same time, the cause of understanding and co-operation throughout the world.

We appreciate that the fundamental interests of peoples require a radical improvement of the overall international situation. That is why we consider that the necessary prerequisites should be ensured

for a political settlement of the existing issues, for the liquidation of all hotbeds of tension and conflict. In this respect it is our opinion that we should act with a view to settling the situation in the Middle East, to establishing a just and lasting peace. It is necessary that the Security Council resolutions should be implemented which implies the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and a just settlement of the problem of the Palestinian people to whom the right to decide its own destiny in keeping with its national aspirations should be granted today, more than ever before, it is highly necessary that all States should act to strengthen the role and efficiency of the U.N. in solving the problems confronting mankind, in promoting a new course in international relations in building up a more just and a better world.

I wish that the present conference in Lahore should represent a significant contribution to strengthening the struggle for peace, understanding and international co-operation and I extend to all the participants my most sincere good wishes for success in achieving these noble goals.

## Message from Mr. Signor Cabanillas, Information Minister of Spain

On the occasion of the celebration of the Islamic Conference in Lahore, where the Heads of State of the Muslim countries connected with Spain through historic and close friendly ties, will meet, I send my best wishes for the success of the meeting to Your Excellency, as a sincere testimony of the profound sentiments of Spain for the Islamic world.

## Message from Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Ratwatte Biaf Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka

On the occasion of the Islamic Conference which is being held in Lahore from February 22 to 24, I convey greetings and good wishes

from the Government and the people of Sri Lanka. We trust that this Conference will help towards achieving a lasting peace in the Middle East and promote the wider cause of peace and co-operation between all nations.

## Message from President General Etienne Eyadema of Togo Republic

On the occasion of the Summit meeting held in Lahore, Pakistan, to examine the issue of the Middle East, I have great pleasure in expressing to you in the name of the people and Government of Togo as well as in my own name, my wishes for full success of your work. I hope that the important decisions that you will take will contribute to establish in this area of the world a peace built upon justice. Highest consideration.

## Message from Prime Minister Edward Heath of the United Kingdom

By inviting world Muslim leaders, Pakistan has paved the way for resolving world problems through unity and co-operation. I pray for the success of the Conference and I hope it would contribute to the strengthening of world peace.

## Message from President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia (in interview with Radio Pakistan, February 20, 1974)

The Islamic Conference is a source of peace in the troubled world of today. Such grouping of the Third World should be encouraged as they could be helpful in promoting peace in the world. Nobody could possibly have a biased approach to international relations.

# WORLD PRESS COMMENTS

## Extracts from selected world press comments

### AFGHANISTAN

*Kabul Times (February 24, 1974)*

Up to yesterday there could be individuals, parties or nations that would believe the Moslem world's support for the cause of the Arab nation was less than total. The resolutions passed by the Islamic Summit Conference at Lahore, however, leave no shadow of doubt that the seven hundred million Moslems of the world demand 'immediate and unconditional' withdrawal of Israeli expansionists from occupied Arab territories.

Israel has been able to pursue her policy of aggression and arrogance with the support she has received from certain countries. It is hoped that this backing is denied to Israel so that the Middle East ceases to be a hotbed of world tension, uncertainty, danger and crisis.

The voice raised at the Islamic Summit Conference is the voice of reason. By heeding to this voice, a giant step towards peace, security and stability, will have been taken.

(*Editorial "Support For Arab Cause"*)

### ALGERIA

*El Moudjahid (February 25, 1974)*

Yesterday, the Summit Conference of the Islamic countries concluded its work by adopting a final communique and a text on the

economic co-operation between thirty-eight African and Asiatic countries. Since Saturday, the Heads of State and Government of the biggest Islamic assembly ever held in modern history decided to give all out support to the Arab cause by adopting two resolutions on the Middle East and Jerusalem. This Saturday, the second day of the business of Heads of State and Government was full of events. It has been marked by the spectacular reconciliation between Pakistan and Bangladesh which became the 38th Member of the Conference. It has also been marked by President Boumedienne's appeal for a concrete economic co-operation: "We have to act—We have to take the historical chance given to us by oil to reshape radically the relations between the developing and developed countries. To attain that we have to start true economic co-operation between us," this is the crux of President Boumedienne's message.

*(News Report)*

## ARGENTINA

*Buenos Aires Herald (February 26, 1974)*

A Summit resolution released 18 hours after the 38-nation conference closed stressed the determination of Moslem rulers to free the Third World of inequities aimed at perpetuating exploitation of their natural resources.

*(Despatch from Lahore by Leslie Murphy)*

## AUSTRALIA

*The Canberra Times (February 26, 1974)*

One might hope then that the Islamic spirit of accommodation that led to the unexpected solution of the hitherto intractable

differences between Pakistan and Bangladesh could also lead to a will to compromise over some of the issues that divide the Arabs and the Israelis.

(*Editorial*)

*Nation Review Australia* (*March* 15, 1974)

...Mr. Bhutto's stock in the Muslim World, as well as in Pakistan, has shot up following his smooth handling of the Conference, which he wound up with an emotional address in which he pledged that although Pakistan was a poor country and could not afford to give money for Muslim causes, "as God is my witness, we shall give our blood."

(*Lahore despatch by Irfan Hussain*)

## AUSTRIA

*Arbeiter Zeitung* (*February* 26, 1974)

The Summit Conference ended with the passing of a declaration which calls for the participating states to work together to overcome poverty, sickness and ignorance in the Islamic world... It is hoped that those don't remain empty words but that they will be enacted; so that, as in Chairman Bhutto's passionate departing speech, the Moslem countries of the Third World really achieve "a brighter and more glorious future" through economic co-operation.

(*Article by Friedrich Katscher*)

*Kurier (February 26, 1974)*

Now the richest and the poorest of this world have reached out their hands to one another. 600 million people want to step into a better future together under the green flag of the Prophet Mohammed... Where the Lahore Conference was concerned with proving religious and political solidarity, where spiritual and not material values were concerned, it was easy to make a united Moslem bloc...

Looking back, the mammoth meeting of Lahore will remain the birthplace of the reconciliation between Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. That alone was surely a spectacular scene and worth a couple of hundred brotherly embraces.

(*Editorial*)

## BAHRAIN

*Sada-al-Usbou (February 26, 1974)*

As we said earlier it is the obligation of the Arab Leaders to support Pakistan, because Pakistan is one of those countries which has continued persistently its support to the Arab causes in a positive way and with great intelligence, in the spirit of friendship. This stand of hers did not originate a year ago or a few years ago, as happened with diplomacy of other countries, but it started a very long time ago.

The people remember that Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the leader of Pakistan's Delegation to the United Nations stood up in the General Assembly in 1959 and exposed the French imperialism in Algiers. He condemned its methods and demanded the grant of their rights to the peoples of Algiers in freedom and honour. The people also remember that Pakistan has made efforts to keep the cause of the Arab Palestinian alive and has explained it with great skill.

(*Comments*)

*Weekly Al-Mawaqif* (*March* 11, 1974)

It is, therefore, the duty of the Arab nations to embrace this brotherly country and bring her closer to the Arab ranks and repay this friendship and brotherhood with a similar or even a better gesture.

Possibly it would not be very long that the day comes when Pakistan becomes 21st country in the Arab League.

(*Comment*)

## BANGLADESH

*Morning News, Dacca* (*February* 25, 1974)

Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has, therefore, declared firmly in the Islamic Summit at Lahore while expressing the solidarity of the Bangladeshis with the Arabs in their just struggle, that Bangladesh would always be with "the forces of peace and progress throughout the world, with the non-aligned nations and with the oppressed people."

The pledge to help the Arabs that has been again affirmed in the halls of the Islamic Summit in the voice of Bangabandhu is a pledge held very dear by every Bangalee. Our ties with the Arabs are saturated with sincerity, sympathy and mutual affection nourished over centuries. The denial of rights to the Arab nations pains us as much as it does the Arabs.

(*Editorial*)

## BELGIUM

*La Vanguardia* (*February* 24, 1974)

One of the facts of the world politics at the present is that Islamic fidelity of a number of millions of human beings, extended

over an immense territorial ribbon going from the Atlantic upto the Pacific. For good or for bad we have to accept that reality.

(*Article*)

## EGYPT

*Al-Masaa* (*February* 24, 1974)

The Lahore Islamic Summit was the greatest of its kind the world is now witnessing. Such an assembly had never been seen in any stage of history. This Summit, in which 37 Muslim countries have participated, represented about 600 million Muslims, i.e. 15% of the total inhabitants of the world.

(*Article*)

*Al-Ahram* (*February* 26, 1974)

The real value of the Lahore resolutions lies in the deep conviction of the Summit member-states that unified action was their way to success, that any violation of the freedom and independence of any of them is a violation of the freedom and independence of all of them, and that the international situation necessitates over-looking personal and regional differences in the interest of these countries' future.

(*Editorial by Ali Hamdi*)

*Weekly Al-Musawwar* (*March* 1, 1974)

At the final session, standing ovation was given to Mr. Bhutto when he reaffirmed that the Pakistan Army will fight along with the Arab armies the battle of Jerusalem. "The people of Pakistan are the soldiers of Islam and the Army of Pakistan is an Islamic Army," he said. The Islamic Summit, however, has been a great success which went beyond expectation.

The Summit has provided a good chance for eliminating clouds and solving outstanding political crisis among some Muslim countries. From the outset, a spirit of brotherhood prevailed in the Conference.

(*Article by Sabri Aboul Majd*)

*Al-Akhbar* (*March* 1, 1974)

The fact that the problem of Kashmir has not been discussed at the Second Summit in Lahore did not mean that the issue was no more important for Pakistan or for the people of Kashmir themselves. The question has not been raised, as Sardar Abdel Qayyum Khan, President of Kashmir, said in an exclusive interview with *Al-Gamhouriya*, because prior to the inauguration of the Summit, it was declared that it will not discuss any other problem except that of the Middle East. According to Sardar Abdel Qayyum Khan: We want nothing but the application of Security Council's resolution.

(*Article by Abdel Hamid Abdel Nabi*)

## FRANCE

*L'Aurore* (*February* 23/24, 1974)

For the first time in history, sovereigns and presidents, conservatives, moderates and revolutionaries—representing 600 million Muslims, rich and poor—who were still separated yesterday by profound differences, were united in Lahore not just by religion, but common interests as well. This confirms the birth of a new bloc on the chessboard of world forces: that of Islam, which until yesterday was in the cradle of a thousand and one nights. This is something visualised by certain men, aware of those problems, hardly 15 or 20 years ago, and has become a reality today. This new power, based on religion—whose primary aim is a new structure in economic relations

on the global level, can bring about deep confusion and well beyond what is now considered 'co-operation' or 'fruitful exchanges'. In any case, it is necessary to take 'the Lahore ones' into consideration. Facts must be confronted, and we must understand the even more important role that they will play in the years ahead, if they have already covered such a great stance in such a short time. Lahore will be a landmark in history more important than Bandung.

*(Despatch from Lahore by Henri Surugue)*

*Le Monde (February* 24/25, 1974)

The historic speech of Mr. Bhutto, delivered in grand style, stressed that for the first time, the Third World is in the position to use its own resources for its development, and—especially the Muslim countries which produce hydrocarbon—to play a more constructive role. But he has also let it be understood that Muslim unity should express itself through "concrete measures of co-operation" between producer-countries and those which are not producer-countries, and which, contrarily, suffer the consequences of the increases in the price of petrol...

*(Lahore despatch by Gerard Viratelle)*

*Le Figaro (February* 25, 1974)

The Lahore Summit was an expression of solidarity with the Arab countries against Israel, but at the same time it was an expression of faith in Muslim unity, in every field. All the speakers underlined forcefully that Islamic solidarity would be an empty word, if it is not followed up by concrete steps, and practical decisions. Preferential tariffs for petrol for developing countries, is an example of action in this direction.

*(News item)*

*L' Ardennais (February 28, 1974)*

Nineteen years after Bandung, the Islamic Conference of Lahore has demonstrated the birth of a new political bloc on the international chessboard.

(*Article by Hubert Barthelemy*)

*La Croix (March 9, 1974)*

Israel once again served the cause of cementing Islamic unity—as it had done at the Arab Summit at Rabat in 1969. Governments ranging from revolutionary ones to medieval feudal lordships were all in agreement against Israel—forgetting their rivalries and internal struggles for the moment...What has happened in Lahore raises several questions for the future. Aren't we seeing a powerful politico-religious awakening of Islam? Won't the presence of a powerful bloc, holding petroleum riches, carry a hitherto unknown weight on the evolution of contemporary history?

(*Article by Maxime Rodinson*)

*Jeune Afrique (March 9, 1974)*

Lahore, differently from Rabat, is not an operation of internal Arab policy. It is one moment of the grand diplomatic offensive which, at every occasion, from the conference of the non-aligned to the European conference at Copenhagen, and passing by the Organization for African Unity, aims at further isolating Israel.. President Bhutto has deliberately oriented his country towards the Arab Orient, leaving the subcontinent more and more to profit from the Persian Gulf. For it is actually there that the keys to the future may be found...Is this to say that a new world power was born at Lahore? That the

nightmare of the English and French colonial residents, the "awakening of Islam" will finally take form a half-century late?

*(Article by Anis Frances)*

## FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

*Frankfurter Allegemeine Zeitung (February* 23, 1974)

The Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore is a rather late but impressive victory of King Faisal of Saudi Arabia.

The importance that the Palestine conflict and in particular the Jerusalem problem have for the Islamic Heads of Government could lead to the revival of the Crusade-time cliche of Muslim fanaticism.

*(Article by Harold Vocke)*

*Suddeutsche Zeitung (February* 26, 1974)

The Islamic Summit Conference of Lahore may be looked upon as an important event. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's presence is enough to make this Conference of 36 Asian and African countries appear as the sight of a turning-point in history...Whose victory is this? Although all participants praise themselves, Bhutto's master stroke should be acknowledged. He organized the Islamic Summit Conference. He chose just the right moment when the Arabian countries were particularly interested in demonstrating the world-wide strength of Islam...

*(Despatch from New Delhi by Carlose Widmann)*

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

*Daily Neues Duetschland (February 25, 1974)*

The participating countries in the Summit came out for closer economic co-operation. In the future the States are to consult each other and harmonize their stand in the United Nations Organization.

(*Lahore despatch by ADN Correspondent*)

## GHANA

*The Mirror (February 22, 1974)*

The man behind this Summit is the Prime Minister of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who is the host at the Islamic Summit Conference and who has been in active politics in Pakistan since 1954.

This vision of Islam has guided Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, both in the formulation of his domestic and foreign policies; giving his Pakistan People's Party, with its Manifesto based on the Islamic principles of social justice, an overwhelming electoral victory in 1970-71.

For Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who has performed many roles in his turbulent political career, usually with considerable skill, playing host to the Islamic Summit should be a relatively easy exercise.

(*Comment*)

## IRAN

*Kayhan (Persian) (January 26, 1974)*

Lahore Conference should be a political event and not a mere religious gathering. Muslim unity could have a proper meaning only

if it pursued progressive, anti-imperialistic and non-aggressive policies.

(*Article by Amir Taheri*)

**INDIA**

*Dawat* (*February* 19, 1974)

So far as India's participation on the basis of her Muslim population is concerned, this was made complicated earlier (by India herself) at Rabat Conference...A non-Muslim was assigned the responsibility to represent the Indian Muslims there. As a matter of principle, only those countries, who have accepted the Conference Charter, should have the right to full-fledged membership and in case of those countries who have not recognised the Charter, their Muslim delegates should be given the opportunity to represent the Muslim population as observers or part-time members.

(*Article entitled "The Prime Minister and the Islamic Conference"*)

*Al-Jamiat* (*February* 24, 1974)

The 36-nation Islamic Conference is the biggest-ever assembly of the Muslim world in the modern times and it is also the biggest ever combined and co-ordinated effort for the achievement of common political and economic goals.

(*Editorial*)

*Al-Jamiat* (*February* 26, 1974)

Lahore has witnessed 3,000 years of epoch-making events. It has seen the rise and fall of the Arya, Shak, Kushan, Turk, Afghan,

Moghal, Sikh and the British rule. The resolution regarding India's complete freedom was also passed in this city. The Partition Resolution was adopted here and it is in this city that the seal has now been put finally ratifying the partitioning of Pakistan. And it is also in this city that the biggest ever meeting of the Muslim political and economic power, since after the fall of the Banu Umayyads, has taken place. It is to be seen if this city will also witness the establishment of new links and relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh.

(*Editorial entitled "Pakistan, Bangladesh and India"*)

*Dawat* (*February* 26, 1974)

The Conference was held with a purpose to strengthen the forces of peace and justice against aggression and oppression and it has fully achieved its objectives.

(*Editorial*)

## INDONESIA

*Berita Buana* (*March* 5, 1974)

For Pakistan the Conference has opened a way for Mr. Bhutto to normalise relations with Bangladesh. Pakistan is regarded as symbol of the Islamic world which has prepared herself to defend the interests of Islam.

(*Article by Ismail Albandjar*)

*Indonesian Observer* (*March* 14, 1974)

It was a sign that the Islamic fire has not been extinguished in their hearts and that the Islamic spirit is living with our brothers in that subcontinent.

(*Article by Asa Bafagin*)

## ITALY

*Paese Sera (February 25, 1974)*

The Lahore congress has opened a unified action on a large scale than the Arab conference, on bringing peace to the Middle East with justice. The future development of these countries and the stand taken regarding the petrol question have been judged important...

(*Comment*)

## JAPAN

*Asahi Evening News (March 2, 1974)*

The Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore, Pakistan, which was concluded on February 24 with the adoption of the Declaration of Lahore, was an epoch-making event that showed the enthusiastic solidarity of the world's 600 million Moslems.

(*Editorial*)

## JORDAN

*Amman Al Masaa (February 25, 1974)*

The Islamic Conference, being held this time in Pakistan, has important implications since Pakistan is being led by a wise and courageous leader, Premier Bhutto, who declared at the inaugural session that any agreement that provides for the continued occupation of Jerusalem or transferring this city to non-Islamic or Arab sovereignty is not worth the paper on which it is written.

(*Editorial*)

*Ad Dustour (February 25, 1974)*

The positive attitude which dominated Lahore Conference and which resulted in these tremendous accomplishments will make of it a historical turning point towards a close co-operation to defend the homelands and holy places. No doubt, this auspicious start will pave the way for further steps in the future, facilitating the emergence of an international Islamic bloc.

(*Editorial*)

*Al Liwa (February 26, 1974)*

The success of the Islamic Conference in Lahore was more than satisfactory. Its outcome is the natural prelude to the common platform on which relations among Muslims must be based.

Lahore Summit has put an end to the weakness which dominated the Muslim world.

(*Editorial*)

*Al Liwa (February 27, 1974)*

Pakistan...a lovely word, a cherished name among the Arabs, a word we love...we love its implications...a word that reminds us of our brethren who always stand and still stand on our side in all hardships and in all fields.

(*Editorial*)

*Akhbar Al Usbou (February 28, 1974)*

The Islamic Summit now being held in Pakistan is the biggest Muslim gathering on the international level ever held in the 1400-year old history of Islam.

(*Editorial*)

*Al Liwa (March 5, 1974)*

When guns were silenced on the fronts, the dream began to take steps to grope for a way to the reality of life. Pakistan took the initiative and picked up the banner of this great dream.

(*Commentary by Bilal Hasan*)

*Ad Dustour (March 5, 1974)*

I hope that this wave of awakening in the Muslims will rise high, so high that all Zionist schemes will one day be washed away. That day will be the most auspicious day for the Muslims when the Islamic flag will again be fluttering on the walls of Jerusalem. And when this flag will be unfurled, I am sure the services of the Pakistani Muslims for Jerusalem in particular and for the Arab cause in general will most certainly be appreciated. I pray to Allah that the Islamic Conference in Lahore should be successful and its decisions useful for the Muslim Umma.

(*Article by Kamel Sharif,*
*Member of Senate and Chief Editor*)

**KENYA**

*Daily Nation (February 21, 1974)*

The Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims has sent a message to the Organizers of the Islamic Summit meeting in Lahore, Pakistan, urging them to particularly consider two problems facing Muslims.

The message, signed by the Chairman, Sheikh Balala, and the Secretary-General, Al Haj Jahazi, urges unity in finding a solution to the problem of Jerusalem.

It accuses the Israelis of submitting holy places to 'disrespect and abuse.'

The Islamic nations are also urged to increase assistance to poor and uneducated Muslim minorities.

(*News Report*)

*Sunday Nation (February 24, 1974)*

More than a third of the countries that participated in the Islamic Conference in Lahore, Pakistan, over the weekend are African. Islam is a monotheistic creed which has had a most profound effect on African society...Both Islam and Christianity came to Africa from the Middle East. Islam from the Arabian peninsula, and Christianity from Palestine. As stated earlier, the Crescent followed the Cross in Africa, but the former soon superseded the latter. In terms of statistics, politics and territory, Islam has done better, and continues to do better, than Christianity.

(*Commentary entitled "Africans and Islam"*
*by Peter Mwaura*)

*The Sunday Post (February 24, 1974)*

Pakistan has been able to secure considerable limelight for itself as well as glory. In the Muslim countries as well as elsewhere, Mr. Bhutto is widely recognised as a very able and adroit politician. He has secured the maximum advantage from the Summit for his country in terms of giving it a new and high place in the comity of nations...

(*Editorial*)

## LEBANON

*Al-Hayat (February* 23, 1974)

Those who have seen and heard and spoken have never seen such co-operation and understanding as they see in the Islamic Summit today.

(*Comment*)

*Al-Anwar (February* 26, 1974)

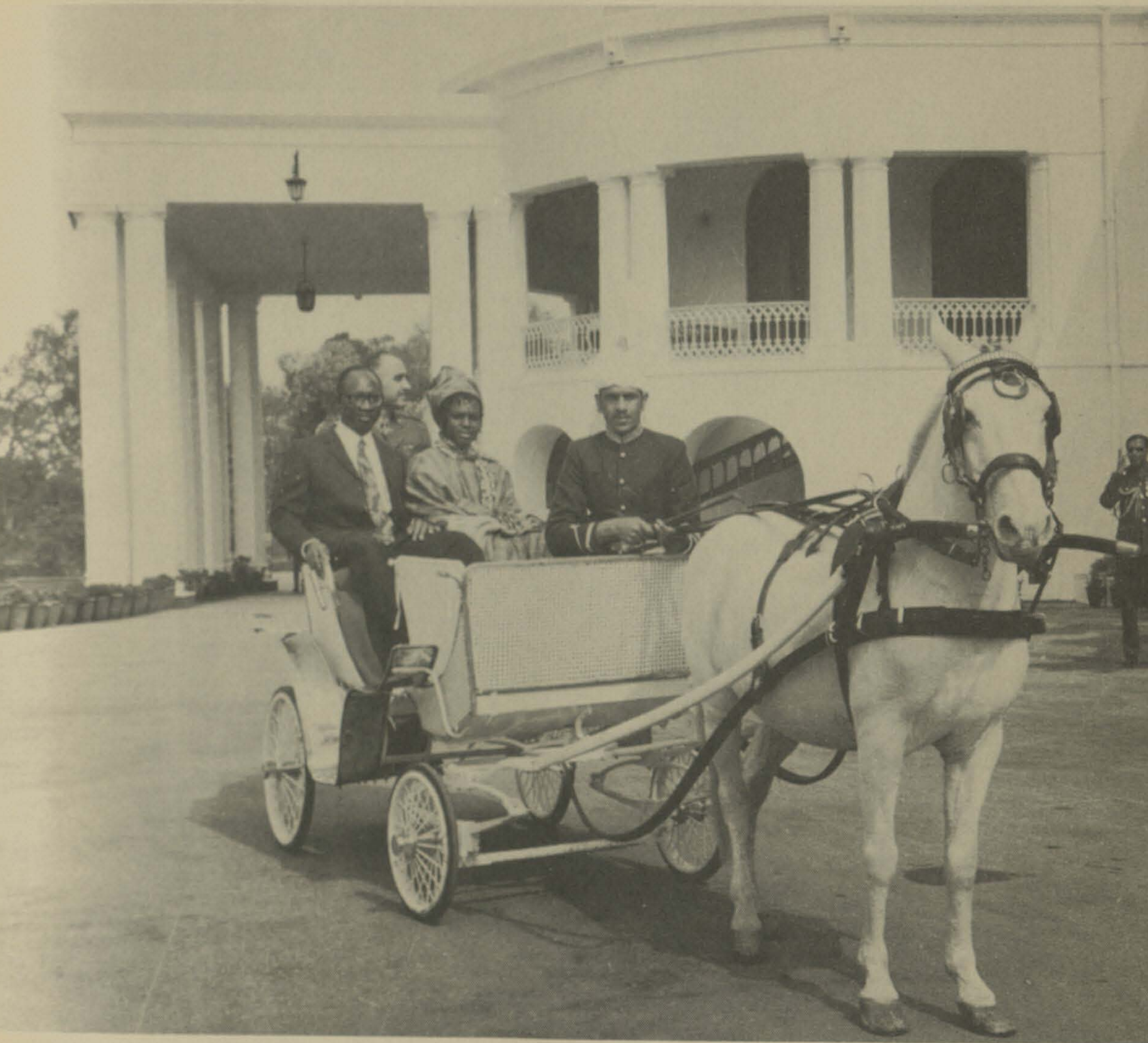
The Lahore Conference was an Arab and Palestinian victory. From now on, America and Russia will be unable to ignore the rights and ambitions of this great Muslim world. Success at the Conference was due to Arab unity and co-operation specially between Egypt and Saudi Arabia i.e. because the Arab world was always the heart and the window of the Muslim world.

(*Comment*)

*Al-Bayraq (February* 28, 1974)

Before the opening of the Islamic Summit, Zionist Press in Israel and world tried to prove the Muslims of being fanatics. It claimed that they have called for a religious and fanatic conference in Lahore. But these Israeli claims were proved false since the first meeting of the conference when the Prime Minister of Pakistan opened the Summit with a speech which was described unanimously by the journalists as an excellent speech and as an objective study which describes the sickness and proposes the treatment.

(*Comment*)



*President Dawda K. Jawara of Gambia and Madam Jawara take a buggy ride in the lawns of the Punjab Governor's House at Lahore.*



*Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto received King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and President Houari Boumedienne of Algeria when they came to attend his banquet in the Shish Mahal (Hall of the Mirrors) of the Shahi Fort at Lahore.*



*Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's banquet at the Shish Mahal included a cultural show afterwards. Photo shows the guests watching the cultural show.*



*Guests at Prime Minister's banquet at Shish Mahal in the Shahi Fort watch a colourful performance given by Pakistan International Airlines dance troupe.*





*The two sponsors of the Second Islamic Summit King Faisal of Saudi Arabia and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan at the banquet in the Shish Mahal of the Shahi Fort.*



*Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, Mr. Yasser Arafat sits between President Idi Amin of Uganda and Mr. Hasan Al Tohamy, Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference at Prime Minister's Shish Mahal banquet.*



*A view of the Citizens Reception for the delegates to the Second Islamic Conference. The function was held at the historic Shalamar Gardens, just outside Lahore.*

*Al-Bayraq* (*March* 8, 1974)

European Observers noticed in their comments about the Islamic Summit in Lahore that Islam is the only religion in the world which can assemble at one place representatives of different places and languages and traditions.

(*News item*)

*Al-Hawadess* (*March* 11, 1974)

Islamic co-operation should not be governed by occasions only. It should be something firm based on clear foundations and known principles.

(*Article*)

**LIBYA**

*Al-Fajr-ul-Jadid* (*February* 28, 1974)

Commenting on the Conference H.E. Mr. Abu Zeid Durda, Minister of Information and Culture of L.A.R. said what was expected to be achieved from the Conference had been fulfilled.

(*Comment*)

*Al-Usboo-ul-Thaqafi* (*March* 1, 1974)

The Arabs now feel that the Muslims are on their side and by this great support and strength of the Muslim world will make the enemy shiver with fear.

(*Editorial*)

*Al-Rai (March 3, 1974)*

In an interview with "Ukaz" of Jedda Mr. Yasser Arafaat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization said the Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore has made a great change in the history of the Arab nation.

(*Comment*)

## MALAYSIA

*The Star (February 26, 1974)*

Much was achieved at the Second Islamic Summit at Lahore. The most historic decision was the admission of Bangladesh.

(*Editorial*)

*The Straits Times (February 26, 1974)*

Other than Pakistan, no non-Arab nation has hosted a meeting of Islamic leaders at such a high level...

Lahore's success belongs, of course, to the whole comity of Muslim nations.

(*Editorial*)

## MOROCCO

*Le Matin (February 25, 1974)*

Several African states will be represented in Lahore like in the Arab Summit of Algiers where President Bhutto represented Africa.

This means that beyond the Islamic character of the Summit—the Conference will also be a forum through which the peoples of Africa and Asia and all peoples loving peace and co-existence will express themselves.

(*Editorial*)

*El Alam (March* 6, 1974)

The great achievements which the Muslims have gained in Lahore should be significant.

The main problem is unity, cohesion and common action but a great obstacle constituting imperialism and Zionist domination stands in their way.

(*Editorial*)

## POLAND

*Daily Trybune Ludu (February* 27, 1974)

The resolution (on Economic Co-operation) states that Muslim countries ought to pay more attention to mobilisation and revalorization of their national resources in order to ensure the people economic and social prosperity.

(*Lahore despatch by its Correspondent*)

## ROMANIA

*Lumea (February* 28, 1974)

The 3-day debate demonstrated the will for the settlement of the situation in the Middle East, according to the legitimate

aspirations of the peoples of the area. Generally, the proceedings of the Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore demonstrated the resolution of the attending countries to make their increased contribution to the settlement of the major problems of the contemporary international life.

*(Lahore despatch by Romanian News Agency representative Ion Putinelu)*

## SINGAPORE

*The New Nation (February 25, 1974)*

The Lahore Summit will win a memorable place in the world history. What was surprising was the eleventh hour recognition of Bangladesh by Premier Bhutto and Jordan's acceptance of the Summit Resolution to recognise the P.L.O. as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. These two developments alone would win the Lahore Summit a memorable place in world history...

Equally welcome is the Summit decision to set up a committee of experts to recommend ways of helping the developing countries hit by the recent sharp rise in oil prices.

*(Editorial)*

## SPAIN

*La Vanguardia (February 24, 1974)*

One of the facts of the world politics at the present is the Islamic fidelity of a number of million of human beings, extended over an immense territorial ribbon going from the Atlantic upto the Pacific. For good or for bad we have to accept that reality.

*(Article)*

## SRI LANKA

*Ceylon Daily News (February 26, 1974)*

Mr. Bhutto can justly claim a brilliant diplomatic victory. With scarcely a card in his hand, Mr. Bhutto has played the diplomatic game for Pakistan with consummate skill and panache. The timing was no happy accident. The Islamic Summit was the ably conceived and carefully prepared setting necessary for Pakistan's final diplomatic stroke inasmuch as it maximised Moslem support on Pakistan's side. For Pakistan at least, the Summit has already brought its richest reward.

(*Editorial*)

## SWEDEN

*Dagens Nyheter (February 26, 1974)*

The very fact that almost 40 states had gathered in order to discuss their problems out of different point of views is important. This proves that there a knowledge of that common interest exists which separates these countries from the countries in the highly industrialized part of the world.

(*Article*)

## SWITZERLAND

*Neue Zurcher Zeitung (February 21, 1974)*

It appears that the Muslim world is again equipping itself for a "Sacred War." It is now aimed to liberate Jerusalem.

(*A report by Werner Adam from Lahore*)

*Basler Nachrichten (February 26, 1974)*

But, this Summit of Islamic statesmen is certainly a milestone in the history of South Asia. The big winner is Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the clever Prime Minister of Pakistan whom the conference favoured to bring 'reconciliation' with Bangladesh. ..Bhutto's politics inclined towards the Islamic states have been successful. Within three years he managed to build an Islamic force in South Asia against Hinduism of India and thus blurred the hegemonic feelings of India.

*(Editorial)*

*Tages Anzeiger & National Zeitung (February 26, 1974)*

Everybody would have his own view but the fact remains that Bhutto succeeded in presenting a masterpiece. The Islamic Summit served his purpose at such an hour when the Arab and Islamic world, from Africa to South-East Asia gathered in the name of Islam... The spectacular reconciliation of Lahore has created some worries. India and Soviet Union are certainly worried that the recent instance could result into a real reconciliation between Bhutto and Mujib.

*(Report from Lahore by Carlos Widmann)*

*Swiss Press Review and News Report (March 9, 1974)*

The Islamic Summit in Lahore was a splendid diplomatic triumph for Pakistan. President Bhutto intends it to be repeated often and hopes that Pakistan will be remembered as the inaugurator of a new and world-wide movement greater than any of those which have been tried out in the last two decades...

*(Press Review)*

## SYRIA

*Al-Thawra (February 24, 1974)*

News Agencies described Lahore while receiving the Arab leaders as 'regaining the glory of its history.' The Pakistani people took to the streets to greet President Assad upon his arrival in the city and the streets were adorned with flags and arches of triumph.

President Assad said, "I am optimistic of the outcome of the Islamic Summit Conference. It is universally acknowledged that the Zionist danger of expansion and the Israeli aggressive policies are not only a threat to the Arabs but to the entire sanctities of the Muslims."

(*News item*)

## TANZANIA

*Daily News (February 26, 1974)*

It is significant that what might have been thought as an assembly that would make religion its central theme, has come out as a conference that once again served to underline the identity of Third World countries on the burning political and economic issues of the day.

On liberation, the Lahore Summit expressed solidarity and willingness to help not only the Palestinian and other Islamic people, but all those struggling against colonialism and other forms of foreign domination in Africa and elsewhere. From a Third World point of view, the Summit was a remarkable success in that it dwelt on the truly pressing issues of the day and at the end came out with concrete resolutions and proposals to solve them.

(*Editorial*)

## TUNISIA

*L'Action (February 26, 1974)*

By transcending the questions of doctrine and trying to benefit as much as possible from the virtues of Islam, this meeting raised lot of interest, and will contribute to eradicate the evils adversely affecting the Islamic world.

(*Comment*)

## TURKEY

*Tercuman (February 24, 1974)*

Today the Islamic Summit is being held in Lahore. Lahore is far from us but it is a part of our culture. We even have folk songs about Lahore. Yahya Kemal, our famous poet, also has verses about Lahore.

The Islamic World has never been so conscious of the facts and has never been so powerful. If we act wisely this can also be our power.

(*Article by Ahmet Kabakil*)

*Ekonomi-Politika (March 2, 1974)*

Is it reasonable to convene a conference having a religious character when the whole world is trying to come together?

But Islam is the most tolerant religion. No matter what their conditions are, all Islamic Societies are based on social justice. Such a civilized mentality which had always respected other religions, can play an important role in realising the idea of 'one world.' So it can defeat those who want to shatter international unities.

(*Article by Mr. Haluk Tansug*)

## UGANDA

*Voice of Uganda (February 28, 1974)*

The General (Idi Amin) said the Lahore Conference was one of the best conferences he has ever attended and that its chairman, the Pakistani Prime Minister, Ali Bhutto, was one of the brilliant chairmen he has ever seen. The security at the conference was superb and the standard of discipline and kindness of the civilians in Lahore was very high. In the two cities of Karachi and Lahore, the General said, he was surprised to see a high standard of cleanliness, smartness and discipline, adding that he never expected to find such a standard.

(*News Report*)

## UNITED KINGDOM

*The Guardian (February 23, 1974)*

Mr. Bhutto, for all his protestations of a 'heavy heart' yesterday, has gained everything and lost virtually nothing. He took over a stunned, split, defeated country, dominated by the troops of her large neighbour and thrust into economic chaos by the loss of half her resources. His foreign policy since then has been nothing short of brilliant (in a technical sense) ; he screwed a highly advantageous peace settlement from New Delhi, he has now got every one of vanquished army home. Each fresh demand placed on the table has, in the end, been met...Bhutto is victor in the diplomatic war.

(*Editorial*)

*The Guardian (February 26, 1974)*

These words of Mr. Bhutto's promising troops in the next Middle East War, drew prolonged applause from state and government

leaders as the Pakistani Prime Minister wound up the Islamic Summit Conference. They were meant to inaugurate the world's newest club—rich and potentially more powerful than most of the old ones. The club has had a brilliant launching here. The Summit was a bigger meeting than the Bandung conference which started the non-aligned movement in 1955.

(*Despatch from Lahore by Walter Schwarz*)

*Daily Telegraph* (*March* 6, 1974)

The world was all ears at Lahore. Even the Moslem part of it became more interested in its own forum... Behind the ritual of condemnation at Lahore there were solid issues and solid achievements... The real achievement of the Lahore Summit, though, was Mr. Bhutto's... Diplomats laugh up their sleeves at Pakistan's efforts to make the Summit a success, but supported by a remarkably able Foreign Ministry, and through persistent diplomatic chivvying around the Moslem world, Mr. Bhutto held the conference and the unlikeliest of associates got on well in Lahore...

India is peeved over Mr. Bhutto's triumph in Lahore, but may also judge it wiser now to reconcile itself fully to this new star in the Islamic firmament.

(*Review of Islamic Summit by Peter Gill*)

*The Listener* (*March* 7, 1974)

Somebody described the Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore as Bhutto's spectacular and it certainly was that as rich and variously dressed an assortment of the human race as you could find kings, presidents, prime ministers and a host of lesser luminaries, all the way down to comparatively minor officials, from 37 countries,

stretching from Morocco to Indonesia and representing about 500 million people. That Pakistan, little more than two years after the humiliating defeat which stripped it of its eastern wing, could play host to such a gathering, and do the job so well, was a tribute to the skill, drive and vision of its Prime Minister, Mr. Bhutto.

(*Comment*)

*The Christian Science Monitor (February* 19, 1974)

Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who more than anyone else has been responsible for restoring Pakistan's self-confidence, describes the conference as 'the culmination of our efforts to demonstrate to the world Islamic unity and the Islamic renaissance.' Nevertheless, there is no doubt in anyone's mind here that he also hopes an important by-product of the event will be to show the world that Pakistan is once again very much a going concern.

(*AP despatch from Lahore*)

## USSR

*Tass (February* 25, 1974)

One distinguished feature of the second Summit Conference of Islamic countries which closed here today was that it centred on quite concrete, purely political and economic problems of the developing countries and not on discussion of the role of Islam. One contributing factor to the success of the Lahore meeting was the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan on the eve of the conference. This step eliminated the psychological barrier in relations between the two states and opened up an opportunity for normalising relations between Islamabad and Dacca.

(*Commentary entitled "Results of Lahore Meeting" by Sergie Kulik*)

## YUGOSLAVIA

*Borba* (*February* 28, 1974)

Lahore was during these last days the 'Macca' and 'Medina' for the Muslim world. Even though all the meetings began and ended with a prayer from Koran, this picturesque and impressive meeting, drew attention of the international community as is apparent from the presence of nearly 500 foreign correspondents. Almost all the 'Oil Kings' from the Near East participated.

(*Lahore despatch entitled "Manifestation of Solidarity" by its Correspondent Branko Savic*)

## PAKISTAN PRESS COMMENTS

The Press in Pakistan treated the Islamic Summit Conference as Pakistan's finest hour and joined hands with both the Government and the people of Pakistan to turn the event into a historic occasion. Without this great effort on the part of the Press, the Conference would not have been the triumph it turned out to be.

Since the Conference had been arranged at a short notice an urgent need had therefore arisen not only for providing the public with basic information about the Islamic countries but also for projecting the aims and objects of the Summit and the problems before the participating Delegates.

Seen in retrospect, the national press fully rose to the occasion and succeeded in generating a special Summit atmosphere throughout the length and breadth of the country. All newspapers brought out special supplements which carried not only special features on the Summit but traced the history of the Pan-Islamic movement from the days of Syed Jamaluddin Afghani and concluded with discussion on the historic role of the people of Pakistan and their efforts for the cause of the Islamic unity. A number of papers published special editions in Arabic while others carried headlines and editorials in the language of the Holy Quran. In view of the fact that large number of guests spoke Arabic, a number of commercial organisations issued advertisements in Arabic which were carried by the English language press.

Some extracts from editorials published by Pakistan press during the Summit period are given in the following pages.

## HISTORIC CONFERENCE

The great leaders of the Muslim world are meeting in Lahore today in a historic convention. Pakistan is proud to have been selected to be the venue of this great gathering. Pakistan is the product of the concept of Muslim nationhood in this subcontinent. That is the reason why Pakistan has at every stage and in every manner opposed Israel and its aggressive policies. Pakistan has refused to recognise the Zionist state or to have any kind of relations with it. We are pleased that this historic conference is taking place in Lahore from where poet-philosopher Iqbal spread the message of Islamic renaissance and unity. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah translated this concept into reality, and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has greatly strengthened the foundations of the state which the Quaid-i-Azam created.

There is no doubt that the great leaders of the Islamic world who are gathered here today belong to different climes and climates. There are also differences of political ideology and economic system between them. They speak different languages and belong to different races and cultures. But in spite of all these differences they are one; their hearts beat in unison; they have a common past and their aspirations for the future are the same. But the most important of all is the fact that they believe in one God, the Holy Prophet and the Holy Quran. The ties of Islamic brotherhood that bind them together transcend all distinctions of caste, creed, colour, race and language.

The beads of the rosary were scattered so far. For this we are as much to blame as the conspiracy of our enemies. Muslims wherever

they are have always dreamt of a united Millat. That dream is taking a concrete shape today.

We are convinced that we would once again become a great power and establish the supremacy of justice and peace by crushing the forces of aggression, imperialism and colonialism.

Although the Muslim world has not been united in the past, geographically and spiritually, it has always been a single entity. Although the Muslims have been disunited, the enemies have always treated them as a single entity. Down the centuries, hostile forces have meted out an unjust treatment to Muslims everywhere. They never make any distinction between Muslim and Muslim when it comes to putting their diabolical designs into action. Cannot the Muslims unite and fight together their enemies conspiring against them ?

Today's historic Conference proves that the Muslims of the world are one and united. History has given us a unique opportunity. For the first time in 25 years the Zionist state has had to receive a severe drubbing at the hands of the Arabs. Our Arab brethren by their unremitting struggle and unprecedented sacrifices have created new confidence among the Muslims of the world and created in them the realization that they are a power to reckon with. It is now up to us to decide how best to use our new found strength.

God has given us everything. So far our resources have been exploited by our enemies through devious means. But now the time has come when we should have control over our resources. For this we will have to be prepared to wage a prolonged struggle on all fronts—political, diplomatic, economic and military. We will have to fight long and hard to recover Jerusalem and defeat Zionism. We must also be ready to fight for the cause of the oppressed Muslims

in different parts of the world. For this we will have to depend on our own power. The strength of a nation lies not in its military strength but in its unity. We are sure that the Lahore Conference will prove to be the first step towards a new historic unity among the Muslims of the world.

(*MASHRIQ*, *Lahore*,
*February* 22, 1974)

## ALL MUSLIMS ARE BROTHERS

Pakistan is fortunate that it has been given the honour to play host this week to the Heads of State and Government and special representatives of 36 Muslim countries, stretching from Indonesia to the shores of the Atlantic. The leaders of 52 crore Muslims of the world have gathered in Pakistan to discuss ways and means to recover Jerusalem and Palestine from the clutches of Zionist predators. The Conference is taking place in the historic city of Lahore which is the heart of Pakistan. Lahore is the centre of Muslim culture and civilization in the subcontinent. This is the city of Data Ganj Bakhsh, Mian Meer and other saints. This is the city of Allama Iqbal who a few decades back gave a clarion call for world Muslim unity. And Lahore is the city where on March 23, 1940, the Muslims of the subcontinent spelt out their demand for a separate homeland.

The Conference is taking place at a historic moment. Capitalism is in the last stages of its decline. Communism too has failed to prove equal to the challenges of the modern times. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have failed in their own way to establish a just international order. Both these countries are powerful—having more material and military resources at their disposal than any other nation in human history. But their systems are devoid of moral principles, and their policies have only given rise to wars and aggressions and perpetuated injustice and oppression. One of them created Israel

and deprived Palestinians of their rights. The other played a leading part in cutting Pakistan in two.

The failure of both capitalism and communism has given a new significance to the rising power of Islam. The Muslims do not only possess spiritual power, but are also endowed with material strength. The need is only for the Muslim countries to unite and pool their resources to free themselves from the exploitation of Western imperialism and neo-colonialism. Through unity we can not only liberate Jerusalem and other Arab occupied areas but can emerge as a third power bloc in the world, a power bloc that the oppressed nations of the world are in need of.

The time for translating the dream of Jamaluddin Afghani and Iqbal into practice has arrived. The Lahore Summit, we are confident, would prove to be an important step towards the goal of Islamic unity. The First Islamic Summit held in Rabat in 1969 was participated by 25 Muslim states. At Lahore we have a constellation of 36 Muslim countries. The first Islamic Summit confined itself to discussing the Middle East and the problem of arson in Al-Aqsa. The agenda of the present conference is much more comprehensive. It is clear we are moving in the right direction and the scope of unity and co-operation amongst us is gradually widening. The day is not far off when the Muslim countries will merge into one, united Islamic Millat.

In hosting the Islamic Conference Pakistan has no axe to grind. From its inception Pakistan has been extending all help to its Arab brethren. Its sincere desire is that this Conference should prove to be a means of ending Israeli aggression. Although Pakistan faces a host of problems, its first and primary concern is the liberation of Jerusalem and the restoration of Palestinian rights. We want the Arab world to become strong and powerful because we believe that the problems faced by the Arabs are the problems of the Muslims of the whole

world. The strength of the Arabs is also the strength of the Muslim world.

We are all Muslims and brothers and we have gathered here because we understand each other's problems and difficulties. If today Syria, Egypt and Jordan are victims of Israeli aggression, Indian Muslims are butchered, Philippine Muslims are oppressed and conspiracies to dismember Pakistan are afoot, it is because we are weak. Needless to stress, if we are united, none would dare to attack us, conspire against us and exploit our resources. We pary to God that this historic Conference should meet with unqualified success.

(*IMROZE*, *Lahore*,
*February* 22, 1974)

## FROM MOROCCO TO INDONESIA

The first Islamic Summit took place in Rabat in 1969. The inspiration for that conference was the arson in Al-Aqsa Mosque. Having grabbed Jerusalem in 1967, the Zionists tried in 1969 to set fire to Al-Aqsa—our First Qibla. This was as great a provocation as could be offered to the Muslims. The world of Islam rightly felt outraged and shocked. The Rabat Conference which met primarily to consider the situation arising out of the arson in Al-Aqsa also sowed the seeds of Islamic unity—seeds which came to fruition in the shape of the Islamic Secretariat established in Jeddah in 1970. The October war between the Arabs and Israel is the immediate cause of this Conference. Naturally, the Middle East is the main item on the agenda of the Conference. But this does not mean that the Conference cannot take up any other matter. We should hope that the leaders of the Muslim world will not confine themselves to passing resolutions but will take positive steps to cement Muslim unity. The acutest problem of the Muslims today is that they are divided and disunited. The imperialist powers are always conspiring against Islam and the Muslims. The

Muslims spread over a large part of the globe constitute one-third of the world's population and are in possession of two-thirds of the world's natural and mineral resources. But they cannot match the power of their enemies because they are disunited and their attachment to Islam is weak. Instead of being members of the one and the same Islamic Millat, we take pride in calling ourselves Moroccan, Tunisian, Egyptian, Iraqi, Syrian, Iranian, Afghan, Pakistani, Bengali and Indonesian. We are a motley crowd at the mercy of Western imperialism, Zionism, communism and the Hindus.

The need today is to free the Muslims from the clutches of the menace of nationalism. The Muslim countries must sink their petty differences if they are to emerge as a new power bloc in the world. For this it is necessary that Muslims living in one country should have permission to go, do business and serve in other Muslim countries. The Muslim countries should also have a common defence, a common military strategy, a common policy in international affairs, a common language, a common currency, a common market, etc. It is only after we have merged our individual national identities into a united Islamic Millat that we can emerge as a new power in the world. Aggression against one Muslim country in whatever form it may be, military, cultural, ideological, should be considered an attack on the entire Muslim world. To promote co-operation and unity in different fields of life among the Muslim countries, the Conference must set up special committees. Mr. Hasan Al Tohamy ,Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat, has said that Malaysia will do its best to convince other Muslim countries of the need to create a Muslim Commonwealth. Mr. Tohamy has also stressed the need for greater co-operation among the Muslim countries in diplomatic, cultural, educational and information fields. We hope that this suggestion would receive the due attention of the Conference. In conclusion, we would like to say that Pakistan was established on the basis of the Islamic ideology, and it is a bastion of Islam. If any harm comes to Pakistan, it would also harm Islam. Ever since it came into existence, Pakistan has

unceasingly worked for the glory and greatness of Islam. The leaders of the Muslim world must be made aware of the fact that Islam and Pakistan are inseparable.

(*NAWA-I-WAQT, Lahore, February* 22, 1974)

## HOLD FAST TO THE ROPE OF ALLAH

Today is an auspicious day. The spring air seems to be blowing from the East to the West. The world of Islam today is happy and hopeful. An important chapter of our history is being written in Lahore today. Today is the day when the Muslims should hold fast to the rope of Allah. Today is a day of unity, bringing to an end the days of division and disunity. Today is a day which reminds us of our past glory and guides up to a resplendent future. The leaders of the Muslim world are today gathered in the city of Data Ganj Bakhsh and poet-philosopher Allama Iqbal. The dream of world Muslim unity which, Jamaluddin Afghani and Allama Iqbal had dreamt is taking a concrete shape today—a dream that sometimes took the form of the Khilafat Movement and at other times that of the Pakistan Movement under the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. But our goal is still far. The first step towards Muslim unity was taken in Rabat where the leaders of 25 Muslim countries gathered to consider the situation arising out of the fire in Al-Aqsa—the fire which had threatened to spread to Mecca and Madina.

The second step in the form of the Lahore Summit is being taken at a time when the blood of the Arab shaheeds who offered the supreme sacrifices to liberate Jerusalem and other occupied areas from Zionist clutches has not yet dried up. The unprecedented valour demonstrated by the Arab soldiers in the Ramadhan war has heaved not only the Arab world but the entire Muslim world out of the bog of despondency and despair. Today we must pay homage to the memory of

the Arab shaheeds whose sacrifices made the holding of this Conference possible.

The Lahore Conference is taking place against the background of Arab victory in the Ramadhan war. But we have still to cross many hurdles to reach our goal. The Arab areas are still to be liberated. Jerusalem has to be secured against Zionist depredations and Palestinians have to be given back their rights. But this is not the end of the story. We will have to work hard to bring all the Muslims of the world on one platform and free them from the exploitation of imperialists, neo-colonialists and Zionists.

The problems of Muslims of India, the Philippines, Eritrea and those in socialist and Western countries as well as the continuing aggression against the Kashmiris and the question of Bengali Muslims constitutes a formidable challenge to us. We must create our own defence system and attain self-sufficiency in arms. A Reconciliation Committee should also be formed to settle differences between Muslim countries. We should also help the countries of the Third World so that they may escape imperialist exploitation.

But this is not the end of the struggle of the Muslim world. Our objective is not only to achieve economic well-being and political power. According to the Quran the Muslims are the best of all peoples; they do good deeds and root out evils. There is strife everywhere in the world today because the Muslims have not fulfilled their obligations to guide the world on the right path.

The reason why the Muslim countries lost their freedom and instead of being the leader became the follower was that the Muslims shirked their duty and forgot their aims. Islam united them and gave them power, glory and greatness. But later on they fell a victim to racial, linguistic and territorial nationalism and became a divided lot.

Now the world of Islam should not be content only with achieving political and economic power. They should also try to establish in their midst the social system ordained by Islam. For the achievement of this aim the Muslim countries should co-operate with each other. This is the only way the world of Islam can re-capture its past glory and provide leadership to the rest of the world.

If we want to achieve our goal, we will have to acquire strength, organise ourselves, achieve unity and work for material well being. There is undoubtedly a need for greater co-operation among the Muslim countries, and this co-operation can only be promoted if the Islamic Secretariat is transformed into an active body which should have enough funds at its disposal to put its plans into action. To promote co-operation among the Muslim states the services of specialists should be acquired who should work under the Secretary-General of the Islamic Secretariat. Eradication of illiteracy from the Muslim countries, introduction of the Islamic system of education, the promotion of the Arabic language, common defence, information and communication, agricultural and industrial development, the Islamic Development Bank are some of the important fields in which Muslim countries can profitably co-operate and co-ordinate their efforts. This co-operation cannot be achieved unless the Islamic Secretariat is transformed into an active organization. All member countries should contribute to its fund according to their capacity. The decisions taken in the Foreign Minister's Conference during the past few years have not been implemented for lack of funds and resources. This state of affairs should now be brought to an end. We hope that the Islamic Summit will take effective steps to rectify the situation and lay strong foundations on which the edifice of Islamic unity can be built.

(*JANG*, *Karachi*,
*February* 22, 1974)

## REBIRTH OF MUSLIM UNITY

As the 37 delegations to the Islamic Summit strode to their seats in the conference hall last evening, they heralded the rebirth of the Muslim millat from the shores of the Atlantic to the remote islands in the Pacific. There was something of historic justice in that this largest ever gathering of the Muslim peoples of the world took place in Lahore—the city where the idea of Pakistan crystallised and the urges and aspirations of the Muslims of the subcontinent took a concrete shape. The people of Pakistan have much to rejoice over this event because not only their cherished dream is coming true: their political faith has also been vindicated. For them the goal of Islamic renaissance has been a supreme ideal. They grieved at the decline of the Muslim power after World War I; they groaned with their Maghreb brethren when they were suppressed by the colonialists; and they writhed in agony when the imperalists divided the Arabs. They were among the first to respond without any reservations to the clarion call of visionaries like Jamaluddin Afghani and Mufti Abduh. Even when they were engaged in a grim fight for their very survival as a nation in the subcontinent, the thought of a larger Muslim unity remained uppermost in their minds. Iqbal devoted all his genius to the rejuvenation of the Islamic fraternity, and some of the most glorious battles in which whole generations took part were fought by Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Zafar Ali to uphold the common cause of the Muslim world. For them the struggle for Muslim reassertion in the subcontinent formed an inalienable part of Islamic community's bid to regain its due place in international affairs. So it was with the Quaid-i-Azam who was always prepared to share the burden of Muslims everywhere. It was the logical extension of this tradition that from its very inception Pakistan emerged as a steadfast champion of every cause dear to the Muslim Millat—and it was this conviction that determined Pakistan's role in resisting the creation of Israel or supporting the freedom movements in the Muslim territories.

The Lahore Summit is not an end of the past endeavours of Muslims; it is only the beginning of the Muslim peoples' journey to salvation. By their joint efforts they have created what Prime Minister Bhutto defines as an "opportunity to acquire economic strength and political influence." In both spheres they already enjoy a strategic position. The Islamic States have every reason to feel proud of their great contribution to the crusade against colonialism and imperialism. In the United Nations they form the hard core of the alliance, that stands for humanity's liberation from all vestiges of imperialism. They have also provided the essential strength to a number of regional grouping from the Organisation of African Unity, to Afro-Asian Organisation, and even the Non-aligned Conference. Without the Muslim bloc the whole structure of Third World solidarity would collapse. A greater co-ordination of their activities in the political field will add to the effectiveness of these alliances and institutions and the Muslim world will be able to play a dominant role in the ushering in of a new universal order based on equality of peoples and respect for the inalienable rights of man. This will be the fulfilment of their duty as the followers of Islam which stands for peace, friendship, and justice in human relations. Similarly, in the economic sphere, the Muslim fraternity has already shown the way to the elimination of exploitation by the industrialised nations. The Arab decision to become the masters of their own oil wealth is significant not only in terms of its immediate impact on the Middle East crisis, it represents the first blow at the citadel of economic privilege built by the imperialist manipulators. Its logical result should be a concerted movement for self-advancement by all the primary producers which will ultimately help them to overcome the lag of ages and lay the basis of economic justice among nations. The road ahead is no doubt long and full of pitfalls but if the Muslim world could sustain its faith in its destiny it is bound to realise its ultimate goals.

*(The PAKISTAN TIMES Lahore,*
*Editorial*
*February* 23, 1974)

## A NEW REALISM AND A BRAVE NEW RESOLVE

The three-day Islamic Summit Conference was undoubtedly a spectacular success. It has not only fulfilled its expectations but also accomplished a great deal more. That was possible because of the new awakening in the Islamic world, a new awareness of its strength and resources and what they could achieve through collective action. Above all, unlike the earlier Islamic conferences, there was a notable sense of realism at Lahore, and an eagerness to implement expeditiously whatever was agreed upon. And it was indeed refreshing, to note as the speeches of Premier Bhutto, President Boumedienne and President Qaddafi demonstrated the abiding realisation in the ranks of the Muslim leaders that Islamic unity needs strong economic muscles, and that Islamic solidarity cannot be real as long as a number of poor Muslim countries are dependent on Western economic assistance.

The conference convened to mobilise Muslim world support to the cause of the Arabs has fulfilled its purpose handsomely. It has resolved to take all the steps possible to force Israel withdraw from the Arab lands it seized in 1967, to liberate Jerusalem and to restore to the people their legitimate national rights. The member-states having any kind of relations with Israel have been asked to sever them in the interest of solidarity of the Muslim world. There cannot be a more massive and a more comprehensive support to the Arab cause, and it is indeed gratifying that the Arab leaders have been wholly satisfied by it.

Undoubtedly the most immediate achievement of the Summit was the reconciliation between Pakistan and Bangladesh which enabled Iran and Turkey too to recognise Bangladesh. The delegates as a whole have been as happy over the recognition of Bangladesh by Pakistan as are the leaders of the world. President Sadat has called it the most important achievement of the Summit, and Sheikh Mujibur

Rahman has said that it would lead to "a new era in which all the outstanding problems between the two countries will be solved." That it will lead to early meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh to settle the issue of the 195 POWs, and a visit to Bangladesh later by Prime Minister Bhutto are wholesome results of Pakistan's bold decision. The conference declaration suggests mediation by some Islamic countries when there is a dispute between some other Muslim countries. Handsome proof of the ability of the Muslim leaders to achieve that has been given now by the manner they brought together Pakistan and Bangladesh in spite of their earlier set-backs.

It is in the economic sphere that the conference has broken new ground very imaginatively. It has taken seriously the earnest counsels of leaders who said that Islamic solidarity cannot be cemented without larger economic collaboration among the Muslim states and the readiness of the rich states to assist the poor. If the enormous resources of the Muslim world can help banish poverty, disease and ignorance from the Muslim countries, it will be a far-reaching development. In fact it is only through rendering such assistance to the poor and heavily populated countries can the dependence of many Muslim states on the Western aid-givers be reduced and Islamic and Third World solidarity strengthened. The eight-member committee appointed by the Summit has been given a wide term of references that include devising measures to prevent the developed countries from exploiting the developing countries and mitigating the economic hardships of developing countries due to the recent increase in prices. The Summit's sense of urgency to act in this regard is demonstrated by the directive that the committee should meet within a month and report to the next meeting of the Islamic Foreign Ministers.

The conference has pursued its larger objectives with real earnestness. It has pledged its full support to the freedom struggles in Africa, Asia and Latin America, and it has voiced its solidarity with

the struggle against colonialism and racism in Africa. It has rightly called upon all the member-states not to have any kind of dealing with Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia which believe in the supremacy of the white race and indulge in criminal excesses.

Those who feared that the conference might weaken the unity of the Third World, the developing countries or the Non-aligned group have been proved wrong. It has instead strengthened the Third World and sought to help the developing countries. Its deliberations and the efforts of the 8-nation committee should certainly help the developing countries get a better deal when the special session of the U.N. General Assembly meets later this year to discuss the prices of raw commodities and get a better deal for their exporters. It was a conference truly devoted to peace and justice in the world, and one which thought in large and liberal terms. It is not easy for the leaders of 38 states to agree upon so much so soon; but they have done it, and are also anxious that the decisions should be implemented in full and soon. Surely Islamic unity has taken a major leap forward from the first Summit at Rabat five years ago, and the Muslim world can now look to the future with real hope and considerable confidence.

(*MORNING NEWS*, *Karachi*,
*Editorial*,
26 *February*, 1974)

## THE CARAVAN IS AGAIN ON THE MOVE

The Second Islamic Summit Conference, which opens today in Lahore, is an event of tremendous significance in the contemporary history of Islam. Its task is to direct the ineluctable development of the work of the First Islamic Summit Conference held at Rabat in September 1969 following an act of arson in Al Aqsa mosque. But the leaders of the Islamic world who assembled at Rabat were not content with merely registering the shock and indignation which the Muslims

felt throughout the world. They wisely took the act of arson as being symptomatic of a much deeper malady— the unchallenged and uncontrolled march of Israeli expansionism, a phenomenon made possible on the one hand by the military, political and economic support given without stint to Israel by the leading Western countries and on the other by the indecision and divisiveness characterising the Arab world and the inability of the far-flung members of the Islamic community to help resist unlimited aggression against the Muslims of the Arab region. Though fierce onslaughts and brutal displays of might directed against the Arabs had burned deep into the Muslim soul, the spirit of resistance was slow in asserting itself.

## Great discovery

Rabat proved to be the starting point of a great discovery— the discovery that the time had come to defy the aggressor and those using it as an agency of subversion, neo-colonialism and domination in the Islamic region and the discovery that the world of Islam which has newly emerged from a long period of imperialist subjugation and exploitation now possessed the power and the resources, if only it acted in concert, to overcome injustice and oppression. It was thus that the members of the community of Islamic States, notwithstanding differences in political approach, ethnic and linguistic diversities and the imperatives of their separate nationalisms, set forth on the great enterprise of forging unity in their ranks. They have since been fostering this unity in order to be able to contribute to the development of an international order based on a just and durable peace, the inadmissibility of acquisition of territory through war, elimination of racial and national oppression and the brotherhood of man. These are ideals which the Islamic community shares with all lovers of freedom, equity, justice and peace.

The Lahore Conference is unique in that it brings 37 independent Muslim nations on one platform—the greatest assemblage of Islamic sovereignties represented, in many cases. at the highest level.

in all history, which add up to more than one-fourth of the total number of U.N. members. With Rabat, it shares the honour of bringing together a large number of world States which derive their inspiration not from transient considerations of gain or loss or the exigencies and vicissitudes of international diplomacy but from an ever-lasting source, the transcendental, timeless, life-affirming and humanising religion of Islam. This is not a matter which warrants an apology to the rest of the world; it is a matter of legitimate pride. With humanity set to enter upon the era of supersonic travel, distances are shrinking at a fantastic pace. The explosion of scientific knowledge, the advance of technology and the inevitability of economic interdependence have revealed the serious limitations inherent in national exclusivism and ideas of absolute internal autarky. It is becoming more and more necessary for a number of states to come together on the basis of a principle of unity and to strive to achieve by joint action what they cannot hope to achieve severally. The Islamic world does not have to rack its brains for such a principle of unity for itself, for it is already in possession of one. Only its existence has to be recognised and reaffirmed and the principle has to be made operative in practice as a working hypothesis for regulating relations in the world of Islamic sovereignties.

## Era of assertion

The crisis caused by a sequence of aggressions against the Arabs as well as the elimination of Palestine's identity and the brutal dispossession and oppression of its native owners has come to a climax. This has acted as a catalyst of tremendous force. It has compelled the frontline Arab States to develop countervailing force and made the Arab States at some distance from the usurper Zionist State's borders realise that safety and honour lie in fighting now and that to postpone the ordeal means inviting further aggression, humiliation, surrender of territory and disaster. And it has made the non-Arab Muslims realise that the happenings in the Middle East seriously

attract their responsibility. We have seen the result of this realisation in the new era of Arab assertion and Islamic solidarity that began ·ith the commencement of the war of October last. Presidents ıwar Sadat and Hafez al-Assad and countless 'shaheeds' and 'ghazis' ·ho went into battle have added a glorious new chapter to the history of Arab military valour. Shah Faisal, Presidents Boumedienne and Qaddafi and other Islamic Heads of State have extended the war front to the economic sphere by resorting to an oil embargo. And from the first day of the October war almost the entire Muslim world has become deeply involved with the fortunes of the Arab struggle for the vindication of their rights and peace founded on justice. The Second Summit is an embodiment of that concern, and Muslims everywhere owe a debt of gratitude to those who have sponsored the Conference and prepared the ground for it. Pakistanis are in particular thankful to Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for having won for the country the honour of playing host to this historic assembly.

## Excellent response

The excellent response that the Second Summit has drawn .ı the entire world of Islam is the result of the success achieved in ıniting the Islamic forces in a common struggle. It is not in a state of shared inertia but in the course of a common struggle that unity grows, and it is obvious that the further strengthening of Islamic solidarity depends upon formulating and carrying out a strategy which ensures the maximum mobilisation of the combined energies and resources of the entire Muslim world for the restoration of the usurped Arab territories and Palestinian rights. Again, with the aim of broadening the scope and deepening the significance of the movement for Islamic solidarity, it may be advisable for the Summit to address itself to other matters which are deemed to evoke the concern of the world's Muslims as a whole and to evolve a viable and realistic framework for economic and cultural co-operation among the fraternity of Islamic nations. Successive meetings of Islamic Foreign Ministers and

the Islamic Secretariat at Jedda have already drawn up blueprints for a co-operative endeavour in some directions, and it is possible that Heads of State and leaders of delegations may like to examine these blueprints and make some decisions.

## Emerging structure

There is little doubt that the addition of economic and cultural dimensions to the edifice of Islamic solidarity is crucially needed to enhance the stability and durability of the emerging structure. Fortunately the fraternity of Islamic States is now better placed than any other combination or grouping of States in the world to translate into reality a truly grand conception of multilateral Islamic co-operation in which resources of scientific knowledge, technical expertise, skilled manpower and capital are profitably polled and commercial and economic exchanges are promoted with a view to maximising the benefit of all. For the first time in centuries the Muslim world has it in its power to make its deserts bloom, to extract the enormous riches that lie buried in the earth's bosom, to extricate its teeming multitudes from indigence, ignorance and misery and to make up the leeway in science and technology. However, it needs great breadth of vision and a willingness to harmonise national decision-making with the requirements of overall co-operative planning to bring about such a revolutionary transformation.

Whatever its immediate impact on the Islamic community and the world at large, the Summit marks the crossing of the immense psychological barrier that lay in the way of the refloresence of temporal Islam. It has kindled the urge for Islamic solidarity among Muslim masses. It is now for the leaders of the Islamic world to let it blaze into rapid flame. For long have the Muslim peoples been the children of sorrow, playing a losing game against history and often using the evocation of their past glory as a tranquillizer. Disunited and defeated, they have thought themselves to be a blighted people.

But the past few months have at least changed the tide of this feeling, and the Summit comes almost as a confirmation that God now wills Muslims to recapture their glory. The emotional titillation is overwhelming, but essentially it is not futile. It means a journey well begun. However, the trial remains and that would need an investment of this fund of optimism and cheer into a realistic manoeuvre. There is no way to reach the mountain top except by climbing through ravines and ridges, through blizzards and gorges. The goal of Muslim resurgence and redemption lies across a number of real hurdles—inter-Muslim differences being the most serious of them. If the Summit can chart a wary course for the Muslim world and lay down a definite strategy to clear the hindrances, it will have done much more than just raise hopes.

### A difficult path

The Charter already approved by the Islamic Foreign Ministers can serve as a useful frame of reference in grappling with the down-to-earth problems of forging Muslim solidarity. To be realistic, the path leading towards the emergence of a living, politically engaged international Islamic community is a long and arduous one, and it is certain that serious obstacles will be encountered on the way. History does not move in a straight line; it takes a zigzag course. But there is ground for hope, for at long last the caravan is again on the move.

(*DAWN*, *Karachi*.
*Editorial*,
*February* 22, 1974)

## LAHORE DECLARATION

The Lahore Declaration of the Second Islamic Summit makes a major pronouncement, by the largest ever assemblage of the leaders of the Islamic states, on issues which have been menacing the peace



*Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and President Col. Muammer El Qaddafi surrounded by admirers at the Citizens' Reception held at Shalamar Gardens.*



*Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates, arrives to attend the Citizens' Reception at Shalamar Gardens.*



*Begum Nusrat Bhutto with Madam Qaddafi at the Citizens' Reception at Shalamar Gardens.*



*Mr. Yasser Arafat, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Col. Muammer El Qaddafi respond with smiles while the crowd downstairs at Shalamar Gardens raises slogans of welcome.*

*Mr. A.B.S. Janneh, Minister of Social Welfare, Sierra Leone is accorded a red carpet welcome at the Citizens' Reception at Shalamar Gardens outside Lahore.*

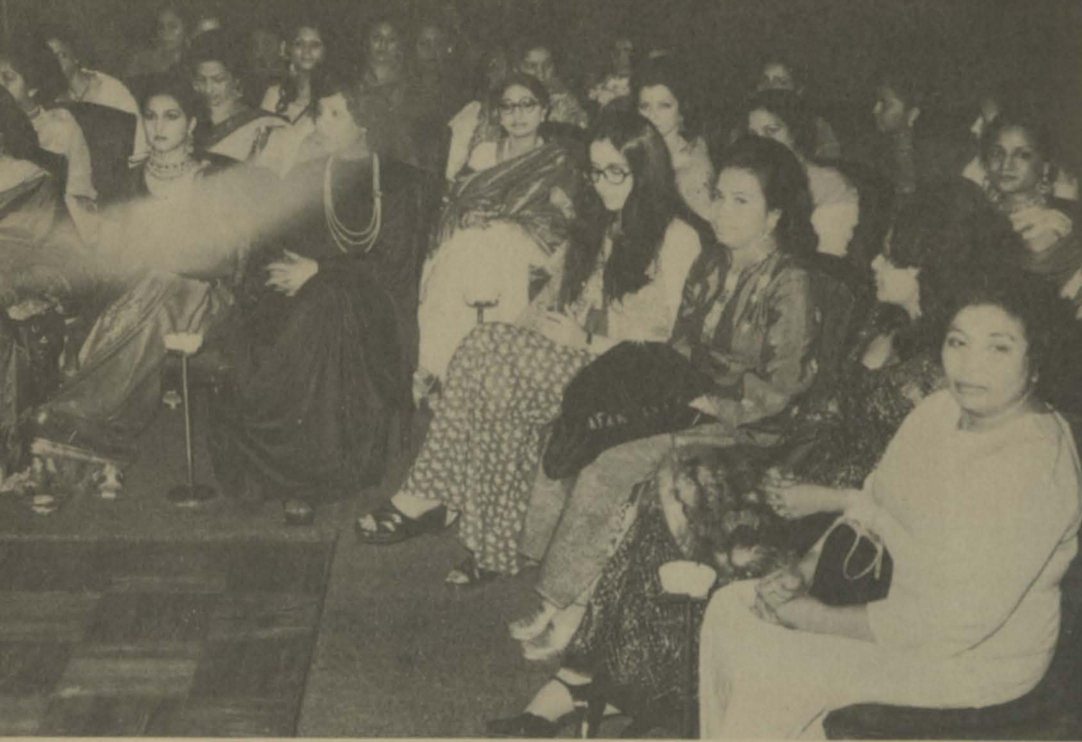




*While their men were at the Conference Hall, the wives of the Delegates were kept busy in a social whirl. Guests at Begum Nusrat Bhutto's dinner include (from left to right) Madam Francisco Mendes of Guinea-Bissau, Madam Dawda K. Jawara of Gambia, Madam Lansana Beavogji of Guinea and Madam Qaddafi of Libya.*

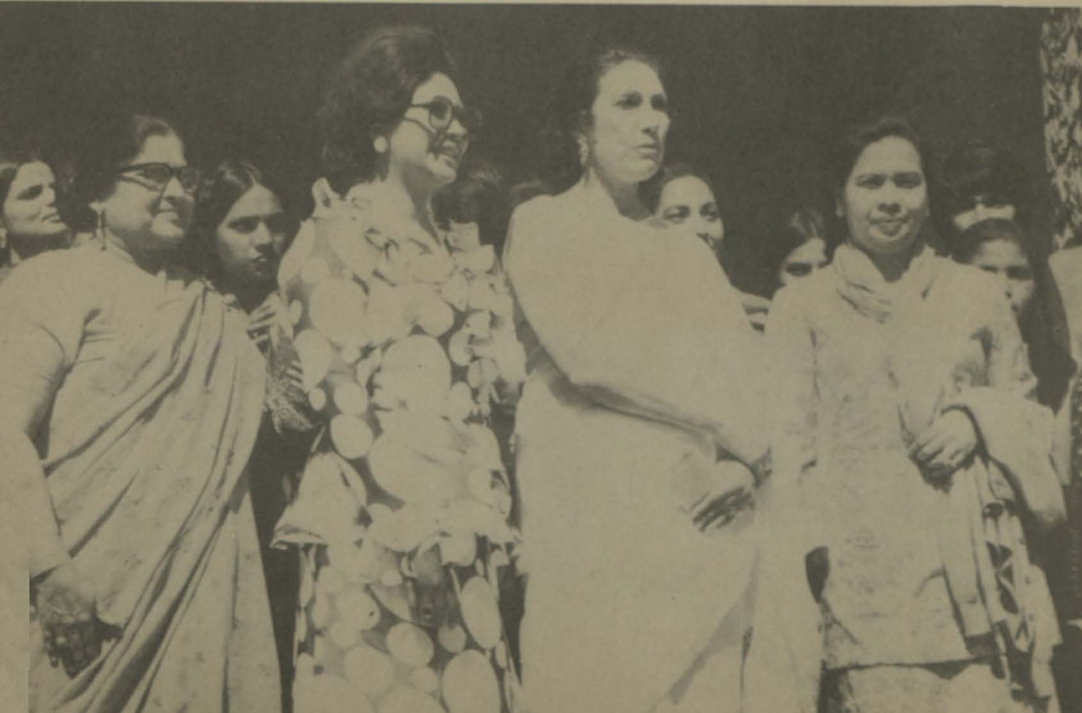
*Another view of Begum Bhutto's dinner shows Madam Moktar Ould Daddah of Mauritania (extreme left) and Madam Ayesha Diori Hamani of Niger (centre.)*





*Begum Nusrat Bhutto invited the ladies for a dinner accompanied by a cultural performance. Madam Tun Abdul Razzak, the wife of the Malaysian Prime Minister is seated third from right.*

*Madam Tun Abdul Razzak, wife of the Malaysian Prime Minister visited the APWA College for Women with Begum Nusrat Bhutto to have a look at Pakistani handicrafts.*






*The people of Lahore put on a splendid show to welcome the delegates to the Second Islamic Summit. The power of Islamic unity is greater than the might of atom, proclaims a banner on a decorative arch with beautifully illuninated WAPDA House in the background.*



*Greatest enthusiam was displayed by the children. Beaming children in Pathan dress cheer as the motorcade of a Delegation passes.*

of the world, the less fortunate peoples and the peoples in the Middle East. The leaders of the Islamic states, making the Arab cause their own, have declared "full and effective" support to the Arab countries in regaining —"by all means"—the territories lost to Israel. They have said: "The cause of the people of Palestine is the cause of all those who believe in the right of a people to determine its own destiny by itself and by its free will." The Palestinians have suffered, as few other peoples have ever suffered; and, therefore, the international community, and "particularly those states which sponsored the partition of Palestine in 1947, bear the heavy responsibility to redress, the injustice perpetrated on Palestinian people." The Declaration has made it clear that "the restitution of the full national rights of the Palestinian people in their homeland is the essential condition for a solution to the Middle East problem and the establishment of lasting peace on the basis of justice." About the holy city of Jerusalem, the Declaration has reaffirmed that Muslims alone could be its "loving and impartial custodians." For, they alone believe in all the prophets whose religions are rooted in the holy city. The Israeli withdrawal, therefore, was a "paramount and unchangeable prerequisite" for lasting peace in the region.

Convened primarily to discuss the continued occupation of Arab territories by Israel and to devise ways and means of getting these territories vacated, the summit also discussed other related important prolems, like the use of the oil weapon, its impact on the economy of those who have been supporting Israel and the economic difficulties of the developing countries as a result of the increase in oil prices. And they also discussed the prevalent unjust economic order, which gives the big stick to the industrialised nations to beat the developing countries with. The disequilibrium which is the hallmark of the present economic system of the world and which militates against the interest of the developing countries was also reviewed. And the leaders, realising the urgent need for eradicating poverty, ignorance, ending exploitation of developing countries

by the developed countries, regulating the terms of trade between the two sets of countries in the matter of supply of raw materials and import of manufactured goods and know-how, ensuring the sovereignty and full control of the developing countries over their natural resources, mitigating the current economic difficulties of the developing countries due to increase in prices and fostering mutual economic co-operation and solidarity among the Islamic states, have set up an eight-member committee to look into these issues and to suggest measures for the attainment of these objectives.

The objectives of the Declaration are noble indeed, and there is no reason why they cannot be achieved, now that the spirit of co-operation and solidarity has been so remarkably displayed by the leaders of the Islamic states. The Lahore Declaration, implemented in its entirety, could usher in a new era of peace and prosperity for all the countries of the world, including those who have suffered for centuries at the hands of the industrially advanced nations. The show of unity at Lahore and the tone and tenor of the speeches by the leaders are indicative of the change that has come about in their thinking and approach. It makes an excellent beginning of a new era of consultation on common problems, which are known to lead to closer co-operation and concerted action. It was the lack of it that was to blame the most for the sorry state of the peoples of the Islamic states.

The Lahore Declaration marks the opening of a new chapter in the history of the peoples concerned; and gives an idea of the shape of things—better things—to come. The fact that the Declaration has been made from Lahore, does the people of this country proud.

(*THE SUN*, *Karachi*,
*Editorial*,
*February* 26, 1974)

## LIST OF PARTICIPATING DELEGATES

### AFGHANISTAN

1. Mr. Abdur Rahman Pazhwak,
   Special Envoy of Afghan President and Head of Delegation.
2. Mr. Abdul Samad Ghaus,
   Director-General.
3. Mr. Abdul Qayum Mansour,
   Director.
4. Mr. Abdul Ahad Nasser Ziayee,
   Assistant Director, Prime Minister's Office.
5. Mr. Wafi Ullah Samayee,
   Dean of Faculty of Islamic Theology, Kabul University.

### ALGERIA

1. Mr. Houari Boumedienne,
   President of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria.
2. Mr. Abdul Aziz Bouteflika,
   Member of the Revolutionary Council and Foreign Minister.
3. Mr. Rabah Bitat,
   Transport Minister.
4. Mr. Ahmad Taleb,
   Information Minister.
5. Mr. Mohammad Ben Yahia,
   Higher Education Minister.
6. Mr. Mouloud Kasim,
   Religious Minister.
7. Mr. Ismail Hamdani,
   Additional Secretary-General to President.
8. Mr. Abdul Majid Alhoum,
   Chief Protocol.
9. Mr. Idris Juzairi,
   Economic Adviser to President.

10. Dr. Amimour,
Press Adviser.

11. Mr. Abdul Hamid Adjali,
Ambassador and Director-General of Political Affairs in Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

12. Mr. Mohammad Kadri,
Ambassador of Algeria in Jedda.

13. Mr. Abdur Rahman Bensid,
Head of the Asian and Latin American Department in Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

14. Mr. Nedjari Mohammed Ghalib,
Charge d'Affaires.

15. Mr. Iskander,
Assistant Press Adviser.

16. Mr. Hamdadou,
Assistant Press Adviser.

## BAHRAIN

1. H. H. Shaikh Isa bin Salman Al-Khalifa,
Amir of the State of Bahrain.

2. Shaikh Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

3. Mr. Ahmed Al-Umran,
Private Adviser for H. H. the Amir.

4. Mr. Yusuf Erhama Al-Dosari,
Head of Amiri Court.

5. Mr. Mahmood Abdullah Bahlool,
Director of Political and Economic Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

6. Mr. Abdul Aziz Bu-Ali,
Ambassador of the State of Bahrain to the Iranian Imperial Court.

7. Mr. Ghazi Al-Ghosaibi,
First Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
8. Mr. Hamad Al-Amer,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## BANGLADESH

1. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman,
Prime Minister.
2. Dr. Kamal Husain,
Foreign Minister.
3. Mr. Tufail Ahmad,
Political Secretary to the Prime Minister.
4. Mr. Tahiruddin Thakur,
Minister of State for Information.
5. Mr. Rahim,
Secretary to the Prime Minister.
6. Dr. Nurul Islam,
Physician to the Prime Minister.
7. Mr. Fakhruddin Ahmad,
Additional Foreign Secretary.
8. Mr. Bahauddin,
Additional Secretary, P. M's. Secretariat.
9. Mr. A.K.H. Morshed,
Director-General (Pakistan).
10. Mr. Rezaul Karim,
Director-General.
11. Mr. Abul Hasan,
Director.

## CHAD

1. Mr. N'garta Tombalbaye,
President of the Republic of Chad.
2. Mr. Djeraibe Doralta,
Foreign Minister.

3. Mr. Mahamat Djarma,
Member of National Executive Council.
4. Mr. Kogonrar Gayo,
Member of National Executive Council.
5. Mr. Djime Togou,
Member of National Executive Council.
6. Mr. Abdoulaye Lamana,
Minister of State Incharge of Modern Economy, Planning and International Co-operation.
7. Mr. Mahamat Amane,
Minister of Transport and PTT.
8. Mr. Garadoum Monn-Djasngar,
Director of Presidential Cabinet.
9. Mr. Marwan Haimari,
Ambassador of Chad in Egypt.
10. Mr. Outman Souleiman,
Ambassador of Chad in Jeddah.
11. Mr. Oumar Kadergueli,
Chief of Protocol.
12. General Neguedjogo,
Chief of Cabinet.
13. Mr. B.A. Abdul Aziz,
Private Counsellor of the President.
14. Mr. Gaston Lemaire,
Chief of Presidential Security.
15. Mr. Noudjalbaye,
Director Documentation.
16. Mr. Ahmed Sonngni,
Director.
17. Mr. Mabe Pierre,
Director of the Official Newspaper.
18. Mr. Saad Nabil,
Press Attache.

## ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT

1. Mr. Mohammed Anwar El Sadat,
   President of the Arab Republic of Egypt.
2. Dr. Abdel-Aziz Kamel,
   Deputy Prime Minister for Religious Affairs and Minister of Wakfs.
3. Mr. Abdel-Fattah Abdallah,
   Minister of State for the Council of Ministerial Affairs.
4. Mr. Fawzi Abdel Hafez,
   Private Secretary of the President.
5. Mr. Hassan Kamil,
   Grand Chamberlain.
6. Dr. Achraf Marawan,
   Private Secretary to the President.
7. Mr. Aly Abou El Fadl Khachaba,
   Ambassador of Egypt in Pakistan.
8. Mr. Hassan Fahmy Abdel-Meguid,
   Ambassador.
9. Mr. Omran El Chafie,
   Minister Plenipotentiary.
10. Dr. Hamdy El-Taheri,
    Deputy Secretary for Information.
11. Mr. Aly Amin,
    Editor-in-Chief of 'El-Ahram'.
12. Dr. Nabil El Araby,
    Counsellor.
13. Mr. Saad Azam,
    Counsellor.
14. Mr. Mahmoud Mubarak,
    Attache.

## GABON

1. Mr. Ali Mbouy Boutzit,
   Minister of Mines.
2. Mr. El Konighi Okumba,
   Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
3. Mr. Moustapha Sandoungout,
   Ambassador of Gabon at Paris.
4. Mr. Esmat Jalal Mouagha,
   Personal Adviser.
5. Mr. Anchoury,
   Adviser to President.
6. Mr. Yangari Abdel Aziz,
   Adviser to President.
7. Mr. Mel Hadj Mohamed Arissani,
   Joint Director of Cabinet.
8. Mr. El Hadj Samba Boup,
   Adviser on Islamic Affairs.

## GAMBIA

1. Sir Dawda K. Jawara,
   President of the Republic of Gambia.
2. Al Haj Yaya Ceesay,
   Minister for Local Government, Lands and Mines.
3. Al-Haj, A.B.N. Jie,
   Minister of Agricultural and Natural Resources.
4. Mr. M. M. Sosseh,
   Deputy Secretary-General.
5. Mr. A. M. B. Jagne,
   Assistant Secretary, Ministry for Local Government.
6. Mr. S. M. Jeng,
   Protocol Officer.

7. Al-Haj, M. L. Cessay,
   Arabic Scholar.
8. Al-Haj A. M. Jobe,
   Arabic Scholar.
9. Mr. Hatab Bojang,
   Officer Incharge Islamic Studies.

## GUINEA

1. Dr. Lansana Beavogji,
   Prime Minister.
2. Mr. Alhadj Abdulaye Toure,
   Member of the Central Committee of Democratic Party of Guinea and Minister of External Trade.
3. Mr. Seke Camara,
   Minister of Education.
4. Mr. Abubakar Camara,
   Ambassador to Peking.
5. Mr. Bangali Dabo,
   Director, Foreign Office.
6. Mr. Sode Soriba Camara,
   Official of Foreign Minister.
7. Mr. Bakare Conde,
   Aide to P. M.

## GUINEA-BISSAU

1. Mr. Francisco Mendes,
   Prime Minister.
2. Mr. Josearaugo,
   Member.
3. Mr. Haidara Lamine,
   Member.

## INDONESIA

1. Dr. Adam Malik,
   Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Leader of the Delegation and Personal Representative of President Soeharto.
2. Air Marshal Soetopo,
   Indonesian Ambassador to Pakistan.
3. Mr. R. B. I. N. Djajadiningrat,
   Director-General for Political Affairs, Department of Foreign Affairs.
4. Mr. Abdullah Kamil,
   Director-General, Directorate for International Organizations.
5. Mr. K. H. Kodratullah,
   Member of Parliament.
6. Mr. Alex Alatas,
   Secretary to the Foreign Minister.
7. Colonel Sunarso,
   Senior Official, Department of Foreign Affairs.
8. Mr. Marzuki Yatim,
   Secretary-General, International Islamic Organisation.
9. Dr. Soelastomo,
   Leader of Indonesian Islamic Organization "The United Development Party."
10. Mr. Sajafei Sahab,
    Minister, Embassy of Indonesia.
11. Col. Sumitro,
    Military Attache.

## IRAN

1. Mr. Abbas Ali Khalatbari,
   Minister of Foreign Affairs, Leader of the Delegation.
2. Mr. Manoutchehr Zelli,
   His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador in Pakistan.

3. Mr. Jaafar Nadim,
Under-Secretary of State for International and Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
4. Mr. Jaafar Raed,
His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador in Saudi Arabia.
5. Mr. Houshang Amir Mokri,
Director-General for International Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
6. Mr. Reza Ghassemi,
Incharge of First Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
7. Mr. Gholam Ali Sayar,
Incharge of the Department of International Organization, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
8. Mr. Anoushirvan Sadigh,
Member of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## IRAQ

1. Mr. Abdul Malik Salim Al-Zaibek,
Ambassador of Iraq in Pakistan.
2. Mr. Kaiss Al Karkhi.

## JORDAN

1. Mr. Abdul Monem Al-Rifai,
Special Adviser to King for International Affairs.
2. Mr. Ahmad Tukan,
Member of Senate.
3. His Eminence Shaikh Abdullah Ghosheh,
Chief Muslim Judge of Jordan.
4. His Eminence Shaikh Mohamad Amin Al-Shanqiti,
Ambassador to Saudi Arabia.
5. Mr. Hassan Ibrahim,
Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

6. Mr. Adel Al-Khalidi,
Ambassador to Pakistan.
7. Mr. Wali Mehr Nashashibi,
Third Secretary.

## KUWAIT

1. His Highness Sheikh Sabah As Salem As Sabah,
Amir of the State of Kuwait.
2. Sheikh Abdullah Al Jaber As Sabah,
Special Advisor to H. H. The Amir.
3. Sheikh Sabah Al Ahmed Al Jaber,
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Acting Minister of Information.
4. Mr. Rashid Abdullah Al Farhan,
Minister of Islamic Affairs.
5. Mr. Mohammad Darwish Al Aradi,
Under-Secretary of the Amiri Diwan.
6. Mr. Ibrahim Mohammad Al Shatti,
Director of the Office of H. H. The Amir.
7. Mr. Issa Al Hamed,
Director of the Political Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
8. Dr. Abdul Aziz Al Khudhar,
Director of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Office.
9. Mr. Abdul Azeez Ali Sharikh,
Second Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
10. Mr. Abdul Mohsin Al Jeean,
Second Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
11. Mr. Abdul Aziz Al Duaig,
Attache at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## LEBANON

1. Mr. Takieddin Solh,
Prime Minister.

2. Mr. Fouad Naffae,
Foreign Minister.
3. Mr. Abdul Rahman Adra,
Ambassador to Pakistan.
4. Mr. Boutros Dib,
General Secretary to the Presidency.
5. Mr. Mohammed Sabra,
Ambassador in Cairo.
6. Mr. Omar Missaikeh.
Director-General in Prime Minister's Office.
7. Mr. Husain-Al-Jisr.
Ambassador in Madrid.
8. Mr. Adel Ismail,
Ambassador and Director-General, Political Affairs.

## LIBYAN ARAB REPUBLIC

1. Col. Muammar El Qaddafi,
Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council.
2. Major Bashir Hawadi,
Member, Revolutionary Command Council.
3. Mr. Abu Zaid Omar Dorda,
Minister of Information and Culture.
4. Mr. Abdul Atti Al-Abedi,
Minister of Labour and Social Welfare.
5. Mr. Abdul Fateh El-Naas,
Under-Secretary of the Libyan Foreign Office.
6. Mr. Saleh Al-Tenaz,
Representative of Jamiat-Dawa-Islamiyaa, Member.
7. Mr. Ibrahim El-Gerbi,
Libyan Ambassador to Pakistan, Member.
8. Dr. Ali El-Treiki,
Director of Afro-Asian Department in Libyan Foreign Office, Member.

9. Mr. Mohammad el-Qamoudi,
Head of Islamic Affairs Section in Libyan Foreign Office, Member.

10. Mr. Abdul Hafiz Shahaan,
Assistant Director of Palestine's Affairs Department in Libyan Foreign Office, Member.

## MALAYSIA

1. The Honourable Tun Abdul Razzak bin Datuk Hussein,
Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Leader of Delegation.

2. Tengku Ahmad Rithauddeen,
Minister of Information and Special Functions, Leader of Delegation at Foreign Ministers' Meeting.

3. Tun Datu Mustapha,
Chief Minister of Sabah.

4. Mr. Hashim Sultan,
Deputy Secretary (General), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Leader of Delegation at Officials' Meeting.

5. Mr. Kamaruddin Mohammad Ariff,
Ambassador of Malaysia to Pakistan.

6. Mr. Zulkipli Abdul,
Principal Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

7. Mr. Mohammad Hashim Taib,
Principal Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

8. Mr. Abdullah Majid,
Press Secretary to the Prime Minister.

9. Mr. Mokhtar Ahmad,
Attache, Malaysian Embassy, Saudi Arabia.

10. Mr. H. A. R. Anwaruddin,
Second Secretary, Embassy of Malaysia to Pakistan.

## MALI

1. Lt.-Colonel Charles Samba Cissokho,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

2. Mr. Boubacar Diallo,
Ambassador of Mali in Egypt.
3. Mr. Halidou Toure,
Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
4. Mr. Mountaga Diop,
Chief of Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
5. Mr. Elbakaye Kounta,
Director, Foreign Office.

## MAURITANIA

1. Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah,
President of Islamic Republic of Mauritania.
2. Mr. Hamdi Ould Mouknass,
Foreign Minister.
3. Mr. Soumare Diaramouna,
Minister of Finance.
4. Mr. Ahmed Ben Amar,
Minister of Fundamental Education and Religious Affairs.
5. Mr. Mohamed Ali Cherif,
General Secretary of the Presidency.
6. Mr. Mohamed Ould Sidi Ali,
Ambassador in Islamabad.
7. Mr. Ahmed Ould Menneya,
Ambassador in Cairo.
8. Mr. Mohamed Ould Jiddou,
Ambassador in Jedda.
9. Cheikh Saad Bouh Kane,
Ambassador in Algiers.
10. Mr. Souleymane Ould Cheikh Sidya,
Ambassador Incharge of Missions.
11. Mr. Mohamed Ould Daddah,
Ambassador Incharge of Missions.
12. Mr. Hamdan Ould Tah,
Director of Religious Affairs.

## MOROCCO

1. Mr. Ahmed Al Tayeb Ben Hima,
   Representative of His Majesty and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Leader of the Delegation.
2. Sheikh Mekki Naciri,
   Minister of Habus (Auqaf), Islamic Affairs and Culture.
3. Mr. Abdallah Gharnit,
   Secretary of State to the Prime Minister.
4. Mr. Mohamed Saadani,
   Ambassador of His Majesty the King of Morocco to Pakistan and Malaysia.
5. Mr. Mohamed Larbi Alami,
   Ambassador of His Majesty the King to Iran.
6. Mr. Abdellatif Laraki,
   Ambassador of His Majesty the King to the Arab Republic of Egypt.
7. Mr. Abder Rahman Baddou,
   Ambassador of His Majesty the King to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
8. Mr. Mohammad Tazi,
   Ambassador of His Majesty the King to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.
9. Mr. Driss Bennouna,
   Ambassador of His Majesty the King to the Syrian Arab Republic.
10. Mr. Mehdi Banani,
    Chief of the Private Secretariat of His Excellency the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

## NIGER

1. President Al-Haj Diori Hamani.
2. Mr. Boukary Sabo,
   Minister of Foreign Affairs.




*Another decorative arch near WAPDA House speaks for itself—in English as well as in Arabic.*



*Over 900, foreign and Pakistani journalists covered the Summit. Pakistan's Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Auqaf and Haj, Maulana Kausar Niazi (extreme left) gave a dinner in honour of the visiting newsmen where the proceedings started with a recitation from the Holy Quran.*



*The flag-bedecked Punjab Assembly Chambers—the venue of the Historic Second Islamic Summit.*




*"Insha Allah we shall enter Baitul Muqaddas as brothers in arms." Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan tells the final session of the Second Islamic Summit of Lahore on February 24, 1974. The delegates responded by a thunderous applause.*

3. Mr. Mouddour Zakara,
Minister of Finance and Sahariennes and Nomads Affairs.
4. Elhadji Oumarou Amadou,
Ambassador.
5. Mr. Ibrahim Loutou,
Ambassador.
6. Elhadji Abdou Mallam Moussa,
Incharge of Mission.
7. Elhadji Sambo Hama,
Charge de Mission.

## OMAN

1. His Majesty Sayyid Qaboos bin Said,
Sultan of Oman.
2. Mr. Qais Abdul Munim Al-Zawawi,
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Sultanate of Oman.
3. Mr. Mohammad bin Ahmad,
Minister for Lands, Sultanate of Oman.
4. Mr. Shabib bin Taimur Al-Said,
Ambassador-designate of the Sultanate of Oman to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
5. Sheikh Saud bin Ali Al-Khalili,
Ambassador-designate to Kuwait.
6. Mr. Salam Ahmad Khalfan,
Director, Political Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sultanate of Oman.
7. Mr. Mohammed Nasser Mansoor,
Private Secretary to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

## PAKISTAN

1. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto,
Prime Minister.

2. Mr. Aziz Ahmed,
Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs.
3. Mr. Yusuf Buch,
Adviser.
4. Mr. A. G. N. Kazi,
Secretary-General (Finance).
5. Mr. Agha Shahi,
Foreign Secretary.
6. Mr. Niaz A. Naik,
Ambassador, Permanent Mission of Pakistan to U. N. European Office, Geneva.
7. Mr. Mohammed Yunus,
Ambassador, Air Services Agreement Wing,
Embassy of Pakistan, London.

## PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

1. Mr. Ali Nasser Mohamed,
Member of Presidential Council and Prime Minister.
2. Mr. Mohammad Saleh Mutie,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
3. Mr. Abdullah Al-Khameri,
Minister of State for Council of Minister's Affairs.
4. Mr. Yassin Saeed Noman,
Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Economy and Industry.
5. Mr. Ali Fadhle Ali,
Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Justice.
6. Mr. Saleh Abdullah bin Azzoon,
Director of Protocol Department.
7. Mr. Al-Khader Saleh Hamza,
Director of Foreign Minister's Office.
8. Mr. Hussein Saeed Al-Elfee,
Director of Asia and Africa Division.
9. Mr. Kamal Abdul-Rahim,
Director, Ministry of Planning.

10. Mr. Hussan Hussein Ali,
Adviser to the Prime Minister.
11. Mr. Abdullah Ahmad Mohanaf,
Adviser to Prime Minister.
12. Mr. Mohamed Abdo Sindi,
Secretary to the Prime Minister.
13. Mr. Ali Qassim Abdul Akaas,
Special Secretary to Prime Minister.
14. Mr. Ali Fareh.
Information Attache.

## QATAR

1. His Highness Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al-Thani,
Amir of the State of Qatar.
2. Mr. Abduasis Bin Khalifa Al-Thani,
Minister of Finance and Petroleum.
3. Dr. Hassan Kamel,
Minister of the State and Adviser to the Government.
4. Mr. Isa Al-Kuwari,
Minister of Information.
5. Mr. Abdul Rahman Al-Khater,
Director, His Highness Dewan.
6. Mr. Mubarak Nasser Al-Kuwari,
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the State of Qatar to Pakistan.
7. Mr. Mahjoub Mekkawi,
Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
8. Mr. Mubarak Al-Thani,
Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
9. Mr. Ahmed Jassin Al-Mulla,
Deputy Chief of Protocol.

## SAUDI ARABIA

1. His Majesty King Faisal Bin Abdul Aziz,
King of Saudi Arabia.

2. H. R. H. Prince Sultan Ibn Abdul Aziz,
Minister of Defence and Aviation.
3. H. R. H. Prince Nawwaf Ibn Abdul Aziz,
Special Advisor to H. M.
4. Dr. Rashad Faroun,
Special Advisor to H. M.
5. Sayyed Omar Al-Saqqaf,
Minister of State of Foreign Affairs.
6. Mr. Riyadh Al-Khatib,
H. M's. Ambassador to Pakistan.
7. Shaikh Kamal Adham,
Counsellor at the Royal Court.
8. Shaikh Mohammad Al-Nuwaiser,
Head of H. M's. Private Bureau.
9. Sayyed Ahmad Abdul Wahab,
Chief of Royal Protocol.
10. Dr. Riffat Al-Sayyed Ali,
H. M's. Private Physician.
11. Mr. Abdul Rahman Al-Shobaili,
Ambassador at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
12. Mr. Khalid Al-Nasir,
Ambassador at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
13. Mr. Said Basrawi,
Ambassador at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
14. Mr. Abdul Rehman Mansouri,
Ambassador at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
15. Mr. Zainul Abideen Al-Dabagh,
Ambassador at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
16. General Abdullah Al-Bisalli,
Commander of the Royal Guard.
17. Mr. Saleh Al-Darrab,
Director-General of the Private Bureau.
18. Mr. Mansoor Al-Khiraiji,
Assistant Chief of Royal Protocol.

19. Lt.-Col. Abdullah Al-Khalifa,
Head of the Office of H. R. H. the Minister of Defence and Aviation.

## SENEGAL

1. Mr. Assane Seck,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.
2. Mr. M. Massamba Sarre,
Ambassador to Pakistan.
3. Mr. Yaya Coly,
Chief of Cabinet.
4. Mr. Saliou Cisse,
Chief of Africa Division in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
5. Mr. El Hadj Madior Fall,
Official of the Ministry of Finance.

## SIERRA LEONE

1. Mr. A. B. S. Janneh,
Minister for Social Welfare.
2. Mr. Taylor Smith,
Ambassador.
3. Mr. Francis B. Rosenoir,
Senior Assistant Secretary.

## SOMALIA

1. Major-General Mohamed Siad Barre,
President.
2. Lt.-Col. Abdi Warsame Isak,
Member of Supreme Revolutionary Council and Adviser to President.

3. Lt.-Col. Osman Mohamed Jeelle,
   Member, Supreme Revolutionary Council and Minister, Livestock and Forestry.
4. Mr. Omar Arteh Ghalib,
   Foreign Minister.
5. Mr. Mohamed Yusuf Weyrah,
   Finance Minister.
6. Dr. Abdurahman Nur Hersi,
   President of Somali National Bank.
7. Mr. Ahmed Abdi Hashi,
   Director-General, Ministry of Higher Education.
8. Mr. Mohamed Omar Hashi,
   Director in Foreign Office.

## SUDAN

1. President Gaffar Mohammed Nimeiri,
   President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan.
2. Dr. Mansour Khalid,
   Minister of Foreign Affairs.
3. Mr. Ibrahim Moneim Mansour,
   Minister of Finance and National Economy.
4. Mr. Fadl Obeid,
   Under Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
5. Mr. El-Rashid Abu Shama,
   Head of the Arab Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
6. Mr. Elbagir Abdel Mutaal,
   Ambassador of the Sudan to Pakistan.
7. Mr. Sayed Sharif,
   State Chief of Protocol.
8. Major-General Dr. Hussain Abdur Rehman al Shaelali,
   Commander Medical Corps.
9. Mr. Ibrahim Taha Ayoub,
   Counsellor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

1. Mr. Hafez Al-Assad,
   President.
2. Mr. Syed Abdul Halim Khaddam,
   Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister.
3. Syed Abdul Ghani Kannout,
   Minister of Public Works.
4. Mr. Fayez Ismail,
   Minister of State without Portfolio.
5. Mr. Abdul Aziz Allouni,
   Ambassador to Pakistan.
6. Mr. Diauddin El-Fattal,
   Ambassador.

## TUNISIA

1. Mr. Habib Chatty,
   Minister of Foreign Affairs.
2. Mr. Salah Ladgham,
   Director, Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
3. Mr. Moussa Rouissi,
   Ambassador of Tunisia in Jedda.
4. Mr. Hachemi Quanes,
   Ambassador of Tunisia in Abu Dhabi.
5. Mr. Mohammad Laroussi Metoui,
   Member of Parliament.
6. Mr. Moncef Skhiri,
   Head of Department of Administration, World and Islamic Institution, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
7. Mr. Sadok Saheb Ettabaa,
   Chief of Department of Press and Documentation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
8. Mr. Youssef ben Haha,
   Attache, Cabinet of Minister for Foreign Affairs.

## TURKEY

1. Prof. Turan Gunes,
   Foreign Minister.
2. Mr. Ismail Erez,
   Deputy Foreign Minister.
3. Mr. Semih Gunver,
   Ambassador, Director-General of the Department of Cultural Affairs.
4. Mr. Erdem Erner,
   Ambassador of Turkey to Pakistan.
5. Mr. Faruk Celiloglu,
   Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Middle East and African Department.
6. Mr. Tugay Ozceri,
   Chief of Cabinet of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.
7. Mr. Timucin Arbak,
   Section Chief in the Middle East and African Department.
8. Mr. Polat Erol,
   Second Secretary, Turkish Embassy.
9. Mr. Nejat Moral,
   Assistant Press Attache.

## UGANDA

1. General Al-Haj Idi Amin Dada,
   President.
2. Mr. M. Ramathan,
   Minister of Co-operatives and Marketing.
3. Mawulana Sheikh Abdul Razaq Matovu,
   Chief Khadhi.
4. Haj Suleman,
   Chairman, Uganda Muslim Supreme Council.
5. Lt.-Col. Khamis Safi,
   Leader of Religious Affairs in the Uganda Armed Forces.

## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

1. His Highness Shaikh Zaid Bin Sultan Al-Nahayan,
   President of the United Arab Emirates and Ruler of Abu Dhabi.
2. His Highness Shaikh Rashid Bin Saeed Al-Maktoum,
   Vice President of the United Arab Emirates and Ruler of Dubai.
3. Shaikh Hamdan Bin Rashid-Al-Maktoum,
   Minister of Finance and Industry.
4. Mr. Ahmad Khalifa Al-Suweidy,
   Minister of Foreign Affairs.
5. Mr. Manaa Al-Otaiba,
   Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources.
6. Mr. Thani Bin Essa Hareb,
   Minister for Islamic Affairs and Auqaf.
7. Mr. Ahmed Sultan bin Sulaien,
   Minister of State.
8. Mr. Mahdi Al-Tajir,
   Ambassador of United Arab Emirates to United Kingdom.
9. Mr. Abdulla Darwish Ahmed,
   Ambassador of United Arab Emirates in Pakistan.
10. Dr. Ezzidin Ibrahim,
    Cultural Adviser to H. H.
11. Mr. Ali Ashurffa,
    Director Palace Office.
12. Mr. Abdul Rahim Al-Mahmood,
    Director-General, Foreign Office.
13. Mr. Ahmed Mukhtar,
    Adviser, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

## YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

1. El-Qadi Abdul Rehman El-Iryani,
   President.
2. Mr. Abdul A. Abdul Majid Al-Asnag,
   Minister of Economy and Acting Foreign Minister.

3. Mr. Mohsin Al-Aini,
   Ambassador.
4. Mr. Mohd. Ahmed Nomen,
   Adviser.
5. Shaikh Sinan Abu Laloum,
   Governor of Hodeitah.
6. Col. Hussain Massomi,
   Chief of Staff.
7. Sheikh Amin Noaman.
8. Mr. Qazi Abdu Salam,
   Adviser.
9. Mr. Hussain Ali Hubaishi,
   Legal Adviser.
10. El-Qadi Abdul Karim Al-Ansi,
    Adviser.
11. Mr. Muthahar Al-Iryani,
    Dy. Minister.
12. Mr. Ahmed Al-Ghazi,
    Secretary to President.
13. Mr. Abdullah Al-Masajadi,
    Chief of Protocol.
14. Mr. Shaikh Abdullah Wassii,

## PALESTINIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

1. Mr. Yasser Arafat,
   Chairman of Executive Committee of P.L.O. and Commander-in-Chief of Palestinian Liberation Forces.
2. Mr. Farooq-al-Qaddoomi,
   Head of Political Department.
3. Mr. Mohammad Zehdi-al-Nashashibi,
   Secretary of Executive Committee.
4. Mr. Zuber Mohsin,
   Member of Executive Committee.

5. Mr. Khalid-al-Hasan,
Member of Central Council.
6. Mr. Mohammad Said Kamal,
Assistant Head of Political Department (Cairo).
7. Mr. Nabil Ramlavi,
Head of Foreign Relations Section in Planning Centre.

## ARAB LEAGUE

1. Mr. Mahmoud Riad,
Secretary-General.
2. Mr. Fouad Cherif.
3. Mr. Mohamed Kayed.

## MOTAMAR AL-ALAM AL-ISLAMI

1. Mufti Syed Mohammad Amin Al-Husseini (Grand Mufti of Palestine).
2. Mr. Inamullah Khan,
Secretary-General.
3. Mr. Haider Al-Husseini.
4. Mr. Khalil N. Alia.
5. Mr. Zahiruddin Qazi.
6. Mr. Aftab Ahmad Qarshi.

## DELEGATION OF ORIENTAL CHRISTIANS

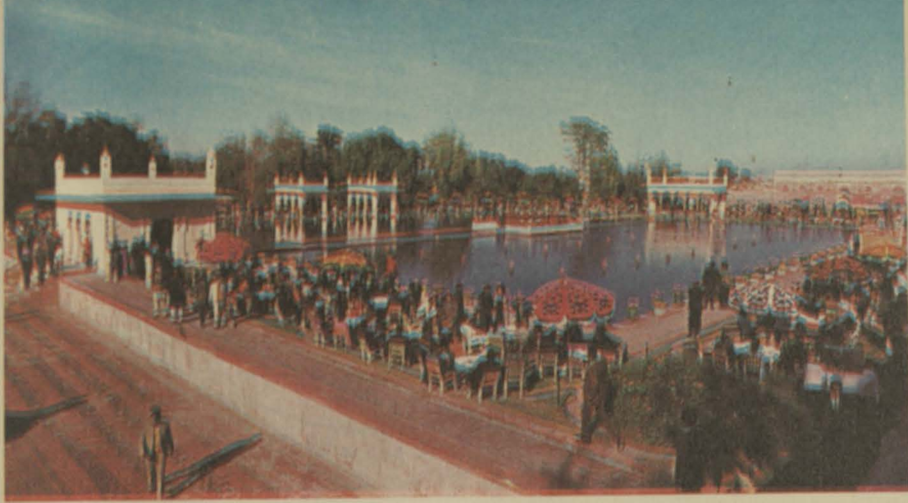
1. His Beatitude Muawad Elias IV, Patriarch of Antioch and All Orient.
2. Monsignor Georges Khodr, Orthodox Bishop of Mount Lebanon.
3. Monsignor Ignace Maroun, Leader of the Maronite Catholic Community.
4. Mr. Shaker Abou Suleiman, President of Lebanese Maronite Central Council.
5. Mr. Ghassan Tueini, Publisher of Beirut Daily An-Nahar.

## RABITA AL ALAM AL ISLAMI

1. Sheikh Mohammed Saleh Al-Qazzaz
   (Leader)
2. Sheikh Safwat Al Sikkimini.

## ISLAMIC SECRETARIAT

1. Mr. Hassan Mohammed Tohamy,
   Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference.
2. Dr. Kamel Gamal,
   Director, Economic Division.
3. Mr. Omar Lim,
   Assistant Director, Political Division.
4. Mr. Abdullah Mohammed Suleiman Lamki,
   Conference Officer.
5. Mr. Mohammed El-Laimy,
   Information Officer.
6. Mr. Abdul Rahman Usman,
   Private Secretary to the Secretary-General.

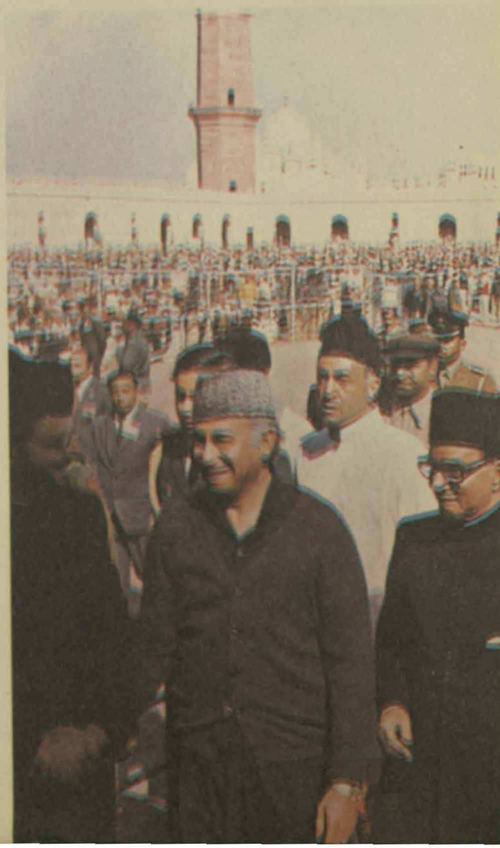







ISLAMIC SUMMIT
SOMMET ISLAMIQUE







No: 1134

Report on

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Lahore, February 22-24, 1974

